

The Courier

Mediterranean worlds





Photo © Alamy, Paris

A time to live....

40 The Arab Republic of Egypt

The life of the street

The Mediterranean is a region with a tradition of urbanization stretching back to very early times. From Byblos to Barcelona, from Kairouan to Dubrovnik, from Istanbul to Cairo, towns and cities proliferated and became an essential feature of the landscape and of social life. In the Mediterranean city the home is a haven of privacy, in sharp contrast to the web of alleyways, streets and squares which pro-

vide the setting for public life. Especially for the menfolk, the street is a theatre for the drama of self-presentation, a place for relaxation and work, where the barber shaves his customers, and children do their homework or play beneath the watchful eyes of the women who knit or sew. Photo shows a street scene in the old city of Cairo.

Editorial

The Mediterranean, which the Romans sometimes called *Mare Nostrum* ("Our Sea") or *Mare Internum* ("Inland Sea") is one of the great crossroads of history. The land bridges formed when its water level fell during the Ice Ages were crossed by the early hominids from Africa, and later some of the world's oldest cities such as Byblos in the Lebanon and Cadiz in Spain grew up on or near it. Its shores gave birth to outstanding civilizations whose influence spread far and wide, helping to shape many features of the modern world. From the Greco-Roman and Christian heritage arose the civilization of Western Europe and the vast Byzantine-Orthodox world which would stretch beyond the Urals. And Islam, born on the periphery of the Mediterranean, would develop brilliantly throughout the region, as far as such European countries as Spain where it left a profound imprint.

But the existence of a diversity of civilizations that were in some cases mutually hostile did not prevent the emergence over the centuries of a distinctive "Mediterranean" way of thinking and living born of the long interpenetration of cultures and rooted in the geographical realities of the Inland Sea.

This issue of the *Unesco Courier* is an attempt to chart the essential features of the Mediterranean ethos. In the lead article, one of the world's great specialists in Mediterranean studies, the French historian Fernand Braudel, paints a general historical portrait of the region, while other specialists look at such major aspects as the habitat, urban civilization and marine ecology.

But steeped though it is in ancient history, the Mediterranean basin is a region whose European, African and Asian constituent parts are today in the throes of change, a region where conflicts involving democratization, development and national and cultural identity often arise in acute form and where the industrial world and the developing world coexist, often within a single country (to the point that some consider the region to be the Third World of Europe). On the one hand it is, perhaps, a region of friction and imbalance; on the other it is fertile terrain for the mutual knowledge and collaboration between different worlds that Unesco and the United Nations system as a whole seek to encourage, a fact which explains Unesco's profound and longstanding interest in the region.

Ever since Homeric times and the ancient Egyptian "Book of the Dead", the Mediterranean has also been an area of intense literary creativity. As a symbolic and admittedly inadequate tribute to this flowering we also present in this issue a garland of texts and poems by Mediterranean writers past and present.

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The Mediterranean: Land, Sea, History

by Fernand Braudel

WHAT is the Mediterranean? A thousand things at once. Not one landscape, but landscapes without number. Not one sea, but a succession of seas. Not one civilization, but a number of civilizations, superimposed one on top of the other. To travel in the Mediterranean region is to find the Roman world in Lebanon, prehistory in Sardinia, Greek cities in

"In both its physical and its human setting, the Mediterranean crossroads, the Mediterranean patchwork, leaves a coherent image in the mind as a system in which everything mingles and is then recast to form a new, original unity." Below, vines growing on stony ground in the South of France.

Sicily, the Arab presence in Spain, and Turkish Islam in Yugoslavia. It is to reach far back in time, to the megalithic buildings of Malta and the pyramids of Egypt. It is to encounter ancient things that still live on in juxtaposition with the ultra-modern: beside the deceptive immobility of Venice are the heavy industries of Mestre; beside the fisherman's boat, which is like the bark sailed by Ulysses, are huge tankers, and trawlers that ravage the sea bed. It is to plunge into the archaism of insular societies, and at the same time to wonder at the extreme youthfulness of very old cities which are exposed to all the winds of culture and profit and which for centuries have kept watch over the sea and lived on its resources.

All this is because the Mediterranean is a very ancient crossroads on which, for

thousands of years, everything has converged—men, beasts of burden, vehicles, merchandise, ships, ideas, religions and the arts of living. Even plants. With the exception of the olive tree, the vine and wheat—which were growing in the region at a very early stage—almost all the plants that we think of as Mediterranean originated far from the sea. If Herodotus, the father of history, who lived in the fifth century BC, were to return to earth and join the tourists of today, he would face many surprises. I imagine him, wrote the French historian Lucien Febvre, "revisiting the places he knew in the eastern Mediterranean. How astonishing it all is! He cannot remember ever having seen these golden fruits hanging on dark-green bushes—orange-trees, lemon-trees, tangerine-trees. Why, they were brought from the Far East by the

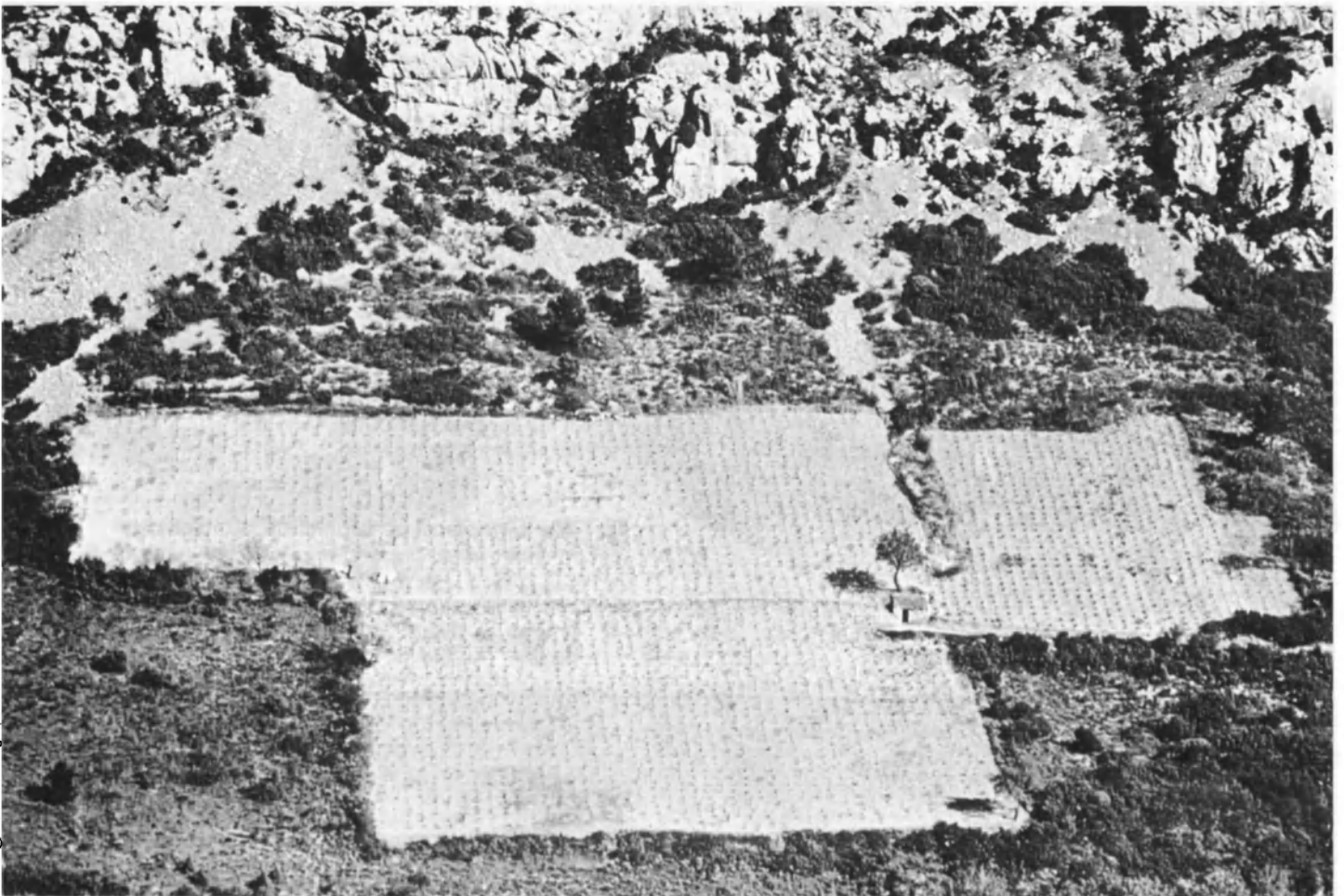


Photo © Marc Garanger, Paris



Photo Erich Lessing © Magnum, Paris

You must take a well-cut oar and go on till you reach a people who know nothing of the sea and never use salt with their food, so that our crimson-painted ships and the long oars that serve those ships as wings are quite beyond their ken.

Homer
(9th century BC)

"The reason for the folds and fractures in the Mediterranean, for the juxtaposition of sea depths and mountain peaks, is a restless and still seething geology, the effects of which have not been effaced by time." Above, view of Stromboli, one of the Aeolian Islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea north of Sicily. The Islands are so called because in Antiquity they were thought to be the home of Aeolus, the lord of the winds. Crowned with a plume of smoke, the volcano which forms the island is constantly active.

Arabs! These strange, oddly-shaped spiky plants and flower stalks with their outlandish names—cactus, agaves, aloes and prickly pears—he never saw such things in his life. Why, they are from the Americas! And these tall trees with light-coloured leaves, which yet have a Greek name, *eucalyptus*—he never saw their like. Why, they come from Australia! And the cypresses, which, like the other trees, he has never seen, are Persian. So much for the setting. But the simplest meal brings him more surprises—the tomato from Peru, the egg-plant from India, the pimento from Guyana, sweet corn from Mexico, rice the gift of the Arabs, not to mention the bean, the potato, the peach-tree, a native of the mountains of China which became Iranian, and tobacco."

Yet all these things are now part of the Mediterranean scene. "Today it would be impossible to imagine the Riviera without orange-trees, Tuscany without cypresses, or vegetable stalls without pimentos."

And if we were to draw up a list of the peoples of the Mediterranean—those born on its shores, the descendants of the men who, in far-off days, sailed its waters or cultivated its soil and terraced fields, as well as all the new-comers who invaded it in their turn—would we not have the same impression as we had when we catalogued its plants and fruit?

In both its physical and its human setting, the Mediterranean crossroads, the Mediterranean patchwork, leaves a coherent image in the mind as a system in

which everything mingles and then is recast to form a new, original unity. How can this undeniable oneness, this profound essence of the Mediterranean, be explained? Several approaches will be needed. The explanation lies not only in nature, which has played a significant part, nor only in man, who has obstinately bound all together; it lies in both the blessings of nature and its curses, which are equally abundant, and in the manifold labours of man, both past and present; in other words, it lies in an endless succession of chances, accidents, and repeated successes.(...)

On a map of the world the Mediterranean is a mere slash in the earth's crust, a narrow spindle stretching from Gibraltar to the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea. Frac-▶



"Nature, history, and the quintessence of life differ from north to south of the sea.... In the direction of Europe and its peninsulas rises the screen of mountains. Southwards, with the exception of the tree-entwined djebels of northern Africa,

there is the desert, a sea of rocks or sand; and behind lies the Sahara, the vastness of Black Africa and, extending beyond it, the deserts of Asia...." Above, expanse of salt and rock in the Mزاب region of the Algerian Sahara.

Wherever I travel Greece wounds me.

On Pelion among the chestnut trees the Centaur's shirt slipped through the leaves to fold around my body as I climbed the slope and the sea came after me climbing too like mercury in a thermometer till we found the mountain waters.

On Santorini touching islands that were sinking hearing a pipe play somewhere on the pumice stone my hand was nailed to the gunwale by an arrow shot suddenly from the confines of a vanished youth.

George Seferis
(1900-1971)

*Move onward, little she-goats, onward, once-happy flock!
No more shall I, stretched out in some green dingle here,
Watch you poised far off on the bushy brows of a hillside.
No more singing for me, no taking you to browse,
My little goats, on bitter willow and clover flower.*

Virgil
(c.70-c.19 BC)

► tures, faults, subsidence and folds in the Tertiary period produced extremely deep basins and, as a counterpart to their depths, endless garlands of young, high mountains with jagged outlines. Near Cape Matapan is a depression 4,600 metres deep, which could easily cover the loftiest peak in Greece, 2,985-metre-high Mount Olympus.

These mountains jut out into the sea, sometimes narrowing it down to a corridor of salt water: at Gibraltar, in the Straits of Bonifacio, in the Straits of Messina with their swirling whirlpools of Scylla and Charybdis, and along the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Here, the sea is nothing but rivers, or merely inlets.

These inlets, straits and mountains articulate liquid space. They delineate autonomous realms: the Black Sea; the Aegean; the Adriatic, which was long the possession of the Venetians; and the much larger Tyrrhenian Sea. This division of the sea into a series of basins is the mirror image of the division of the land into separate tracts: the Balkan peninsula, Asia Minor, Italy, the Iberian peninsula and North Africa.

Yet through this picture runs a line without which it is impossible to make sense of the history of the Mediterranean from the age of the Greek and Phœnician settlements until modern times. Geography and history conspired to trace down the middle a frontier of shores and islands which runs from north to south, dividing the sea into two hostile worlds. If we follow this frontier, from Corfu and the Strait of Otranto, which half cuts off the Adriatic, as far as Sicily and the coast of what is now Tunisia, to the east of it we are in the Orient, to the west, in the Occident, in the full, classical sense of these terms. It is not surprising that this frontier is *the* great line where battles were once fought—Actium, Preveza, Lepanto, Malta, Zama and Djerba.(...)

The reason for the folds and fractures in the Mediterranean, for the juxtaposition of sea depths and mountain peaks, is a restless and still seething geology, the effects of which have not been effaced by time. It explains why the sea is scattered with islands and peninsulas, the remnants of land masses some of which have been buried beneath the sea and others torn to shreds; it explains why the jagged mountains have not yet been extensively eroded; and it explains why there are earthquakes and fiery volcanoes which often grumble, fall asleep, and dramatically reawaken.

Geology explains why there are so many mountains in the Mediterranean region. What a procession of recent mountains!—lofty, angular mountains that pierce the skin of the Mediterranean countryside like a stony skeleton—the Alps, the Apennines, the Balkans, the Taurus, Lebanon, the Atlas, the Spanish mountain chains and the Pyrenees! (...)

Yet some parts of the Mediterranean coast are not mountainous. In the north, the coast of Languedoc as far as the Rhône delta, and the low-lying coast of Venetia on the Adriatic. But the main exception to the rule is in the south—the long, extraordinarily flat, almost featureless littoral which stretches from the Tunisian Sahel to the Nile delta and the mountains of Lebanon.



"The Mediterranean is honeycombed with sea and land routes....linked together. All these routes form a system for the movement of traffic. This system, I think, is the last element in our understanding of the Mediterranean, which is, in the full sense of the term, space-movement." Top, fragment of a marble group (1st century BC) unearthed at Sperlonga (Italy), possibly depicting the helmsman of Ulysses' ship; above, rigging of an Egyptian boat depicted in a detail of a bas-relief from Luxor (middle of the 2nd millennium BC); right, a felucca on the Nile in modern times.

On these endless, monotonous coasts, the Sahara is in direct contact with the Inland Sea. Seen from an aeroplane, two huge flat surfaces—the desert and the sea—lie edge to edge; their colours clash, one ranging from blue to violet and even black, the other from white to ochre and orange.

The desert is a strange world which brings to the seashore the depths of Africa and the restlessness of the nomadic life. Its ways of life are quite unlike those of the mountain regions. This part of the Mediterranean is in opposition to the other, and is constantly insisting on its place. Nature paved the way for this duality, which might even be called a congenital hostility. But history has mixed the different ingredients, just as salt and water are mixed in the sea.

And so when he listens to the Mediterranean concert, Western man should not only hear the voices which are familiar to him; there are other voices which he does not know, and the keyboard is meant for two hands. Nature, history, and the quintessence of life differ from north to south of the sea and whether one is looking northwards or southwards. In the direction of Europe and its peninsulas rises the screen of moun-

tains. Southwards, with the exception of the tree-entwined djebels of northern Africa, there is the desert, a sea of rocks or sand; and behind lies the Sahara, the vastness of Black Africa and, extending beyond it, the deserts of Asia.(...)

Essentially, it is the climate that gives unity to the Mediterranean. It is a very special climate, which changes little from one end of the sea to the other, and unites different types of scenery and ways of life. For it is virtually independent of local physical conditions, shaped by two external influences, the Atlantic Ocean to the west and the Sahara to the south. Each of these giants leaves its dwelling at regular intervals to conquer the passive sea, whose mass of lukewarm water makes it easy for each of them to intrude.

Every summer, the dry, scorching air of the Sahara covers the whole of the sea and much of the land to the north. It creates the glorious Mediterranean skies, the brilliant spheres of light and the star-studded night skies which have no like anywhere else. This summer sky is only clouded over during the short period when the sand-laden south winds rage—the *Khamsin* or the



Those who, on the eve of adolescence, or after having been tossed about for a long time constantly perceive certain signals which remind them, even in the midst of the waves, of their sweet homeland. Then they return straight home without going astray or losing time, or else, most often, either because they lose their way in fog or insist on staring at the stars which plunge into the sea, or because they are delayed by certain seductive pleasures the moment for good navigation eludes them, wander hither and thither and often even risk shipwreck.

St. Augustine
(354-430 AD)

*Drinking the sun of Corinth
Reading the marble ruins
Striding across vineyards and seas
Sighting along the harpoon
A votive fish that slips away
I found the leaves that the sun's psalm memorizes
The living land that passion joys in opening.*

Odysseus Elytis
(born 1911)

► sirocco, Horace's "Plumbeus Auster", grey and heavy as lead.

For six months, while it is under the sway of the Sahara, the Mediterranean is a tourist paradise, with its sea sports, its crowded beaches, and its blue, still water glistening in the sun. But this is a time when animals, plants and the parched earth are longing for rain, for the water that is the richest of all prizes. From April till September, the prevailing north-east winds, the Etesian winds of the Greeks, bring no relief, no real moisture to the furnace of the Sahara.

When the Ocean asserts itself, the desert gives way. In October, the oceanic depressions, swollen with moisture, begin to move in procession from west to east. Winds from all quarters assail them and drive them on to the Orient. The sea darkens, and becomes as grey as the Baltic, or, buried beneath a powder of white foam, looks as if it is covered with snow.(...)

All in all, it is a strange climate, and one that is hostile to plant life. The rainfall is too heavy in winter, when the growth of vegetation is halted by the cold. When the hot days come, there is no water left. And so, if the Mediterranean plants are scented, their leaves covered with down or wax and their stems with thorns, it is to protect them against the dryness of excessively hot weather, when only the cicadas are alive. And if the wheat harvest is so early in Andalusia—in April—it is because the wheat is obedient to its environment and its ears ripen quickly.

Visual beauty masks the treachery of Mediterranean geology and climate. It makes it too easy to forget that the Mediterranean has not been a paradise bestowed freely on man for his pleasure. Here everything has had to be made, often with greater difficulty than elsewhere. The wooden swing plough only scratches the surface of the shallow, friable soil. If it rains too hard, the crumbly soil pours down the slopes like water. The mountains obstruct movement and occupy too much space, so that the plains and fields are often mere strips or handfuls of earth, beyond which rise the steep paths that are so hard for man and beast alike to climb.

And those plains that are of any size were long crossed by meandering streams. Man had to conquer the plains from hostile marshes, protect them from destructive rivers swollen by the pitiless winter, and banish malaria. Brackish water had to be purified before the plains could be used for agriculture. Then fresh, pure water had to be brought for irrigation.(...)

Even today, in all the uplands of the Mediterranean—in Italy, Spain, Provence and Greece—festivals are held, in which Christian beliefs and the vestiges of pagan creeds are associated with work. But the landscape itself, as much as folklore, bears witness to these archaic ways of life. And what a witness it is! It is a fragile landscape,

Air view of Herodion, the monumental fortress built south of Jerusalem by Herod the Great (73-4 BC). Excavations have brought to light the building's four towers and the ruins of the palace within the walls.



shaped entirely by human hand: the terraced crops and low walls that forever need to be rebuilt, the stones that must be brought up the hillside on the backs of donkeys or mules before they are put in place and consolidated, the earth that must be carried in baskets and piled up behind the wall. And remember, no cart hauled by animals can be used on these steep slopes; olives and grapes are picked by hand and transported on the backs of men.

Today, as a result, this once cultivated land is gradually being abandoned. The life is too arduous and the profits too low. Even the famous hills of Tuscany are slowly losing their distinctive features; the low walls are disappearing; olive trees over a hundred years old are dying, one by one; no wheat is being sown; and the slopes which have been cultivated for centuries are returning to grass and pasture—or to nothing.

Another sight that is disappearing before our eyes, but only began to do so recently, is transhumance, an age-old phenomenon in which mountains were associated with the plains and the towns on them; this was a source of both conflict and profit.

In the past, the movement of flocks of sheep and goats between the summer pastures in the uplands and the grass that remained in the plains during the winter months took streams of sheep and shepherds back and forth between the southern Alps and La Crau, between the Abruzzi and the plateau of Apulia, between northern Castile and the southern pasturelands in the region of Estremadura and La Mancha, whence came Don Quixote.

Today this movement still goes on, though on a much smaller scale. But in many cases it has been replaced by road or rail transport. (...)

All life must find its equilibrium. Otherwise it is doomed to disappear; this is not the case of Mediterranean life, which is sturdy and tenacious. (...)

Mediterranean life is hard and often precarious. In the final analysis, the balance is often weighted against man, condemning him to eternal frugality. A few hours or days of feasting must be paid for by years, lifetimes of bare subsistence. The historian and the tourist must not be over-impressed by the urban successes, by the wonderful old cities of the Mediterranean. Towns and cities accumulate wealth, and consequently they are exceptions; they are privileged cases, especially in view of the fact that before the industrial revolution almost 80 to 90 per cent of the population lived in the countryside.

By and large, the life of the Mediterranean revolves around three things—the olive-tree, the vine, and wheat. “Too many bones and not enough meat,” as the French geographer Pierre Gourou has jokingly remarked. (...)

Of the three basic crops, oil and wine (which are exported to countries outside the region) have almost always been successful. The only problem is wheat, but what a problem! And the problem of wheat entails that of bread and its consumption as a necessity of life. What sort of wheat will it be made of? What colour will it be? How much will it weigh, since it is sold everywhere at a



Photo © Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Avicenna (Ibn Sina) is one of the greatest names in Islamic science and philosophy (980-1037). His influence permeated the whole of Islam and penetrated Europe through Muslim Spain, al-Andalus, where it remained a force for centuries. Imaginary portrait of Ibn Sina, above, is an illustration from “Authentic Portraits and Lives of Illustrious Men, Greek, Latin and Pagan”, by André Thévet (Paris, 1581).

fixed price although its weight varies? Wheat and bread are the perpetual bane of the Mediterranean; they are the decisive figures in its history, a constant source of preoccupation for the great. What will the harvest be like? That is the important question asked in every exchange of letters, including letters between diplomats, throughout the year. (...)

The Mediterranean is honeycombed with sea and land routes, so that the towns—small towns, medium-sized towns, and great cities—are linked together. And all these routes form a system for the movement of traffic.

This system, I think, is the last element in our understanding of the Mediterranean, which is, in the full sense of the term, space-movement. Movement adds its gifts to those that form the basis of Mediterranean

life and are bestowed by the nearby space, whether on land or sea. If movement becomes faster, its gifts increase in number, with visible consequences. For centuries, Tuscany has been perhaps the most beautiful countryside in the world. Is not this because the Florentines eat Sicilian wheat, so that rural Tuscany has been able to specialize in growing vines and olives. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, Venice was the richest city in Italy and perhaps in Europe, certainly the richest in the Mediterranean. She was at the centre of the most extensive communications system of the time, a system that extended over the whole sea; she was the greatest purchaser of the pepper and spices that came from the Levant, or at least from the Indian Ocean to the trading ports of the Levant; most important of all, she was the greatest retailer of these precious commodities to the West, and particularly to Germany, the greatest consumer in Europe. In a sense Venice confined the German merchants in the great building known as the “Fondaco dei Tedeschi”, just as the Islamic countries confined the Venetians themselves in the *fonduks* of the Levant. (...)

So it can be seen that the Mediterranean routes increased enormously the space at the disposal of the cities and merchants of ►

النبي الأول والآخر لا يجي في هذا المقام فيكم ولا من
عليكم إذا ما سعت إلى حاجتي ولا بعثت إلا لاجني ولست أبعث عليكم
بل أستدعي إليكم ولا أنا لكم أمواتكم بل أنزلت لكم فادعوا الله فبني
للناب والأعداء الباب فانه ربيع الرجاء تحت الدعوات وهو الذي يسبل

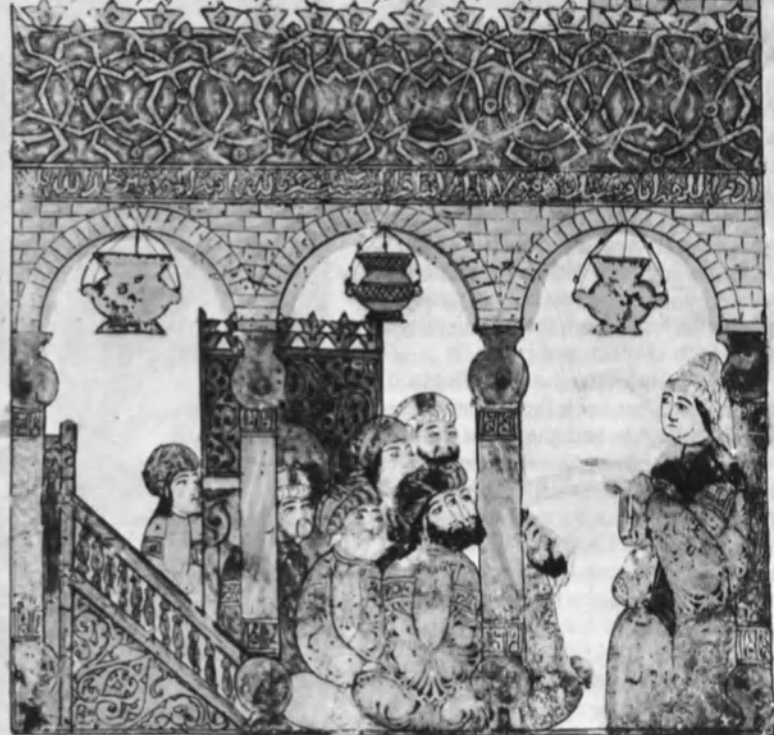


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► the Inland Sea. Yet it was a man of the Mediterranean, Marco Polo, who revealed the existence of distant China to his contemporaries when he returned to Venice in 1296. Another, Christopher Columbus, discovered America in 1492. Italian merchants dominated the trade fairs of Champagne in the thirteenth century, and two centuries later those of Lyons, around which for a time the whole fortune of Europe soberly revolved. (...)

A greater Mediterranean, then, lies around the Mediterranean in the strict sense and acts as a sounding board for it. Nor is it only the economic life of the Inland Sea whose repercussions are felt far away; the same is true of its civilizations and of its cultural movements with their changing colours. Florence is the centre from which the Renaissance spread. The baroque arts, which came from Rome and from triumphant Spain, spread throughout Europe, including the Protestant countries of the north. Similarly, the mosques of Istanbul, particularly the mosque of Suleyman, were copied in countries as far distant as Persia and India. (...)

Today we can recapture that splendour, both in spirit and in fact, when we sail down the Grand Canal, the world's finest thoroughfare, or stand in the Piazza San Marco, the world's finest square. But the splendour was only possible because profits were made from other people in distant lands. For it took more than the exploitation of the nearby countryside and the activity of the little satellite ports in the Adriatic to achieve such splendour. It needed the contribution of far-distant trade and of the outposts which the Mediterranean scattered, through Islam, all the way to the Far East. When the Doge of Venice weds the sea at the feast of the Sensa, on Ascension Day, standing before the church of San Nicolo dei Mendicoli, it is not only a great and magnificent spectacle, or a symbol; it is a reality, for in wedding the sea he weds the greater Mediterranean, the perennial source of wealth.

The decadence, crises and difficulties of the Mediterranean result from breakdowns, shortcomings and disruptions in the traffic system which goes through, beyond

and around it, and which for centuries over-enhanced its status. Vasco da Gama's voyage in 1498 was the first blow struck by fate at the Mediterranean. Yet it survived that trial. Decadence did not really set in until 1620, when the English and Dutch made inroads into the Mediterranean and seized its distant trade outlets. That was a long-term disruption. Was it definitive? Even much later on, after centuries of recession, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 did not fully restore prosperity, let alone pre-eminence, to the Mediterranean, for by then England held absolute sway throughout the world. There was no question of the Mediterranean, which had been seized by foreigners in the sixteenth century, being given back to those who lived on its shores.

Covering from six to ten millennia, in a dislocated, inconsistent world as vast as its human resources, a world that has been studied exhaustively by archaeologists and historians, the history of the Mediterranean is a body of knowledge that cannot reasonably be reduced to a synthesis. The Mediterranean past consists of an accumulation of layers as thick as the history of distant China.

Let us look first at its civilizations.

"Over and above its present political divisions, the Mediterranean consists of three cultural communities, three huge, thriving civilizations, three major modes of thinking, believing, eating, drinking and living.... First of all the West... or perhaps we should say the Roman world.... The second world is another vast expanse, that of Islam, which begins in Morocco and extends beyond the Indian Ocean to Indonesia and the Philippines.... The third civilization... is the Greek world, the Orthodox world." Above, from left to right, mosque scene from the Maqamat ("Assemblies"), a collection of tales by al-Hariri (1054-1122), one of the first masters of style in Arab literature. Illustration is taken from a 12th-century Arab manuscript by al-Wasiti; the centaur Chiron instructing Achilles, as depicted in a Roman fresco from Herculaneum (c. 1st century AD), now in the National Museum, Naples (Italy); The Marriage at Cana of Galilee, a 14th-century Byzantine painting from the church of St. Nicolas Orp at Salonika (Greece).

*Sea, autumnal sweetness, isles bathed in light,
diaphanous veil of fine rain which covered the immortal
nakedness of Greece. Happy the man, I thought, to whom
it was given to sail in the Aegean Sea before he died....*

*Nowhere else does one pass so serenely and so easily
from reality to dream. The frontiers wither away and the
masts of the oldest ship shoot up branches and bunches of
grapes. It could be said that here in Greece the miracle is
the inevitable flower of necessity.*

Nikos Kazantzakis
(1883-1957)



Photo © Artepht/André Held, Paris



Photo © Artepht/Nimatallah, Paris

If we are to give the reader a rapid overview, we must select a guideline. And the best way to do this is to look carefully at the Mediterranean as it is today, to try to define the essential factor in its life and in its visible equilibrium as it is now and probably as it was at different points in the past. This crucial element can be quickly and unequivocally determined. Over and above its present political divisions, the Mediterranean consists of three cultural communities, three huge, thriving civilizations, three major modes of thinking, believing, eating, drinking and living. (...)

Actually, these civilizations are the only lasting forces that can be traced without interruption throughout the vicissitudes of Mediterranean history.

Three civilizations, then. First let us look at the West, or perhaps we should say Christendom, an old word overburdened with meaning; or perhaps we should say the Roman world, since Rome was and remains the centre of the old Latin universe, later the Catholic universe, extending as far as the Protestant world, as far as the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea, to the Rhine and the Danube, along which the Counter-Reformation built its baroque churches, like so many watchful sentinels; and as far as the

lands beyond the Atlantic, as if the destiny of modern Rome had been to keep within its sphere the empire of Charles V, on which the sun never set.

The second world is another vast expanse, that of Islam, which begins in Morocco and extends beyond the Indian Ocean to Melanesia, Indonesia and the Philippines, which were partly conquered and converted by Islam in the thirteenth century AD.

The third civilization is not immediately discernible in our day. It is the Greek world, the Orthodox world. It covers, at least, the whole of what we know as the Balkan peninsula, Romania, Bulgaria, almost all of Yugoslavia, and Greece itself, where so much reminds us of the past and ancient Hellas seems to come back to life; and of course it also covers the vast stretches of Orthodox Russia. But what is its centre? Constantinople, you may say, which is the second Rome, and Santa Sophia at its heart. But since 1453 Constantinople has been Istanbul, the capital of Turkey.

Turkish Islam, which owned the whole of the Balkan peninsula, in the days of its grandeur, kept its morsel of Europe. And another centre doubtless played its part—

Moscow, the third Rome. But Moscow, too, ceased to be a centre of Orthodoxy. One might perhaps say that the Orthodox world today is fatherless.

What better guide could there be than civilizations? They traverse the passing ages, they endure. While the film of history is being made, they remain imperturbably in position.

This immobility implants civilizations in a far more distant past than is at first apparent, and the ages through which they have lived become an intrinsic part of their nature. The Roman world did not begin with Christ. Islam did not begin in the seventh century, with Muhammad. And the Orthodox world did not begin with the foundation of Constantinople in 330. For a civilization is continuous in nature, and when it changes, even as profoundly as by the adoption of a new religion, values inherited from the past are part of it; they survive through it, and continue to form its substance.

Take the case of Greek civilization. It arose and began to take shape around the eighth century BC, following devastation and invasions which had brought Greece down to the nadir of history. Today it is still alive. At the least, it has lasted for three ►

Historical absolutism, in spite of its triumphs, has always come up against an invincible exigence of human nature, of which the Mediterranean, where intelligence is sister to the harsh light, keeps the secret.

Albert Camus
(1913-1960)

"From the 14th to the 16th century, Venice was the richest city in Italy and perhaps in Europe, certainly the richest in the Mediterranean. She was at the centre of the most extensive communications system of the time, a system that extended over the whole sea; she was the greatest purchaser of pepper and spices from the Levant, and above all the great-

est retailer of these precious commodities to the West...." Below, detail of a plan of Venice by Jacopo de' Barbari (1440-1516). In left foreground, the Island of Giudecca with, at right, the Island of San Giorgio. In background, the Doge's palace and the cupolas of the basilica of St. Mark.



Photo © Corner Museum, Venice

► millennia. How many mishaps, catastrophes and disasters have marked its long journey! Greece and the Hellenistic world fell to the Roman legions. But when Constantine founded Constantinople, in 330 AD, the vanquished Greeks emerged from their long period of subjection, the prison in which they had been held for four or five centuries. That was the beginning of a Christian Empire as extensive as the Roman Empire. And in 395, when the Roman Empire split into two parts, a "pars orientis", which was to become the Greek Empire of Byzantium, and a "pars occidentis", which was to fall under the hammer-blows of the Barbarians, Greece revived, in all her power. Under this impetus she survived for almost a thousand years, until the Turkish conquest, in 1453, which seemed once more to call everything in question. But in the nineteenth century, with the help of the Russian Orthodox peoples and of Europe, a veritable crusade liberated the Christian peoples of the Balkans one after the other.

What we have just said about the Orthodox world is also true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the two others—Rome and Mecca. Theoretically, in the case of Rome the starting point is the birth of Christ. In the case of Islam, it is the flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, on 16 July 622. But the Western world is really only the continuation of the Latin world, whose language, spirit, law and much else besides it took over. And while Islam was indeed originally Arabia, a land of deserts traversed by caravans with a long history behind it, it is above all the countries that were so easily conquered by horse- and camel-borne Arab troops—Syria, Egypt, Iran and North Africa. Islam appeared in the main the heir to the Middle East and to a number of cultures, economies and sciences of an earlier day. The heart of Islam is the confined space between Mecca and Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad. It is too often said that Islam is the desert—and the image is a fine one. But it should also be said that Islam is the Middle East. This means that it is also the heir to the untold wealth of ages. ■

FERNAND BRAUDEL, French historian, was honorary professor at the Collège de France and a member of the French Academy. He was administrator of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, in Paris, and served as president of the sixth section of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes from 1957 to 1972. His first major work, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, played a seminal role in the emergence of a new school of historiography. In 1979 he published a 3-volume study, *Civilisation Matérielle, Economie et Capitalisme, XVI-XVIII Siècles* (published in English by Collins, 1981-82 as *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*). His study of French history entitled *Identité de la France* is scheduled for publication by Arthaud-Flammarion, Paris, in 1986. The present article has been extracted from *La Méditerranée, l'Espace et l'Histoire* (Flammarion publishers, Paris, 1985), which was first published in 1977 by Arts et Métiers Graphiques, Paris.

As this issue was going to press, the editors of the Unesco Courier were saddened to learn that Fernand Braudel had died in Paris during the night of 27-28 November.

Transformation and tradition in Mediterranean Europe

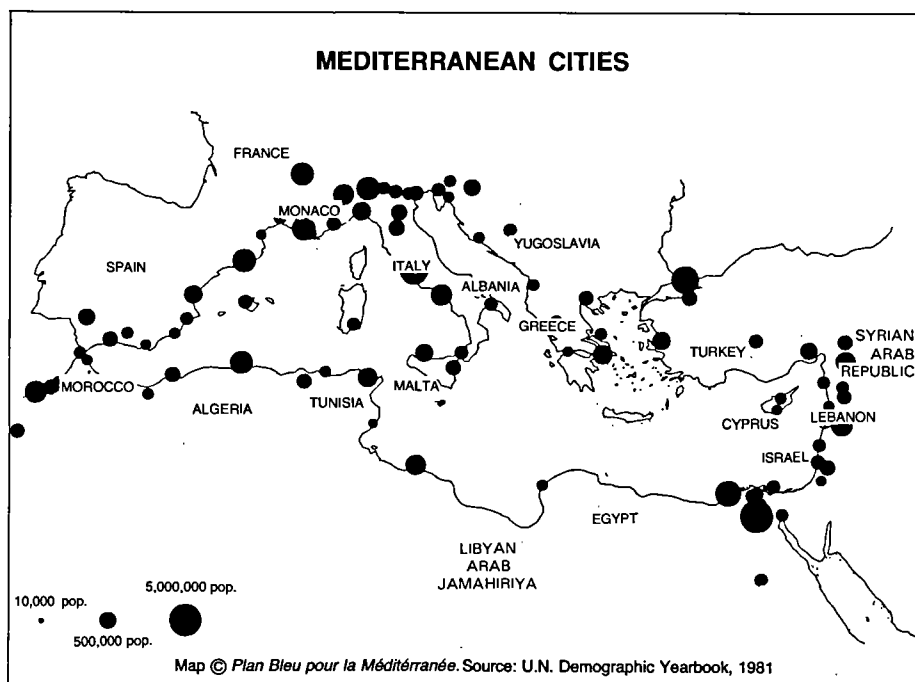
by Salvador Giner

In the Mediterranean region, traditions die hard and are reflected in a wide range of institutions and activities, from the family and social customs to economic systems. At Hama (Syrian Arab Republic) magnificent traditional water-wheels, below, are still used to raise water to the old houses with their moshrabiyahs (projecting oriel windows with a wooden lattice).

UNTIL not so long ago, the countries of Southern Europe seemed to be stranded half-way between the more developed nations and the less advanced nations. In recent decades, however, the whole area has embarked on a process of political, economic and cultural integration into the rest of ►



Photo © Georges Bourdelon, Paris



The Mediterranean basin has a long history of urbanization and is today girdled by a dense network of urban settlements ranging from small towns to great cities such as Cairo, Barcelona, Rome, Athens, Valencia, Istanbul, Marseilles, Alexandria, Damascus and Algiers. A rapid exodus from the countryside has led to anarchic urbanization and widespread shantytowns on the outskirts of towns and cities.

► Europe, as if Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and Greeks had decided to return on equal terms to a home which after all is theirs. Their reintegration into Europe at a particularly creative moment in its history has enriched and revitalized the collective life of all Europeans. But the homeward path has been a difficult and tortuous one.

After a remarkable flowering in the Middle Ages and an extraordinary Renaissance, the peoples of Southern Europe experienced a profound reversal in their fortunes. The Hellenic world had already fallen victim to Ottoman expansion, which also seriously affected the great maritime centres such as Barcelona and Venice. Although the Atlantic façade, including the ports of Lisbon and Seville, would continue to benefit from imperial and overseas trade, the economic decline of the Mediterranean and the growing prosperity of the North, combined with the wars of religion, began in the sixteenth century to shift the centre of gravity of European history towards countries further from the south.

Although many features of the modern world—rationalism, science, capitalism—have their historical roots in Southern Europe, the ankylosis which afflicted the region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a decisive period, had a crucial impact on its precarious participation in the great transformation brought about by the industrial revolution. The latter, which started in England

and soon spread through Belgium, the Netherlands and northern France, encountered very serious difficulties in taking root in Southern Europe. In one of the paradoxes that are so common in the history of this part of the world, some regions, such as Piedmont and Lombardy in northern Italy and Catalonia in north-eastern Spain, succeeded in carrying out their own industrial revolutions, led by the enterprising and farsighted local bourgeoisies of Turin, Milan and Barcelona. But these islands of prosperity and modernity could not totally transform the societies of which they were part, so that they long remained isolated in a world that must have seemed backward, poor and, perhaps, relatively uncivilized to any traveller coming from the north.

Nevertheless, many of the inhabitants of these countries soon realized that they were in a tragic situation. As European peoples they found it incongruous and even unjust not to participate fully in the great movement of modernization in which their neighbours beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees were engaged. Efforts to join in this movement were made in the eighteenth century both in the Iberian peninsula and in Italy.

It was thus that Southern Europe became the first part of the world to experience an agonizing longing for modernity and rapid change that would enable it to catch up with the developed countries. What was later to become a movement in which poor or “undeveloped” or “devel-

Colour page opposite

Between the 7th and the 9th century, Arab Muslim civilization spread westwards along the shores of the Mediterranean from the Near East to the South of France, through North Africa, southern Italy, Spain and Portugal. In the Iberian peninsula it left an enduring mark on Western Christian civilization. The Mozarabic art of illuminating manuscripts is one of many examples of this symbiosis (the Mozarabs were the Christians of medieval Spain who adopted certain Arab customs during the period of Muslim domination). Photo shows a page from a Mozarabic manuscript of the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liebana, an 8th-century Asturian monk whose work was often copied and illuminated in later centuries. This manuscript was illuminated in 1047 by the painter Facundo for Ferdinand I of Castile and his wife Sancha.

Photo © Aréphot/Oronoz, Paris. National Library, Madrid

oping” countries (the word *backward* became nothing short of taboo) aspired for their transformation into “developed”, industrialized, in other words rich countries actually began in Southern Europe. Thus the struggle between modernizing and conservative forces, between city and countryside, between the economic interests of the powerful and the emerging urban proletariats, which unfolded in Southern Europe between the middle of the nineteenth century and the late 1960s, presents some analogies with what is happening today in many countries elsewhere in the world.

During most of the nineteenth century there was slow, uneven progress towards a bourgeois parliamentary society in the Iberian, Italian and Balkan peninsulas. This process was dominated by oligarchical governments, military coups d'état and régimes of varying degrees of despotism. Political life was dominated by patronage, favouritism and bureaucratic parasitism. The emerging industrial bourgeoisies, especially in Spain and Italy, struggled in vain to impose a European-style parliamentary system within profoundly agricultural societies in which the interests of great landowners either predominated or were very strongly represented. At the same time, constant and sometimes violent repression of the working classes in these countries led to growing political and ideological polarization and endemic class confrontations. The liberal political

CONTINUED PAGE 17

lapides unius omnia
huius quippe unius
primarii gemma
dicuntur

supra totius de
cuius purpurea domus
pauca autem quatuor
exstant apud
miles

Carcedon eandem purpura
apud notamentum in
de decima dragma in
de reperta in
vnde de opus fuisse

Amasius autem unius
vnde ad eandem unius
huius quippe unius
nihil gemma platon
in de de purpura
de pende



Amasius rubore
Carcedon purpura
Amasius in domo
Pauca quippe
in de de

Amasius in domo
Carcedon purpura
Amasius in domo
Pauca quippe
in de de

Amasius in domo
Carcedon purpura
Amasius in domo
Pauca quippe
in de de

Toponymi sunt nomina
de quibus scilicet in
inducta prima in
hanc partem in
primarii autem in
inducta prima in
hanc partem in

Amasius in domo
Carcedon purpura
Amasius in domo
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► formula which triumphed in northern Europe failed in the south. There seemed to be no place for tolerance, political pluralism and peaceful rule by the bourgeoisie, tempered by an opposition of trade unions and the Left to which concessions could be made. The political formula which had brought relative prosperity and equilibrium to the advanced capitalist countries in central and northwestern Europe seemed to have failed completely in the countries of the south.

At the end of the nineteenth century it seemed as if the progress of industrialization and the consolidation of bourgeois parliamentary régimes in several Mediterranean countries would eventually bring these countries closer to the models of the advanced European countries. However, a series of unexpected reverses sharpened confrontations between the different groups and deepened the fissures which divided these societies. In spite of attempts to establish republics in Portugal, Greece and Spain and the creation in Italy of a parliamentary system open to the socialists, the First World War exacerbated the internal contradictions in these countries. Moreover, European that they were, they had embarked on, or were destined to embark on, a series of disastrous colonial wars that divided them even further: the Spanish war with the United States in Cuba and the Philippines in 1898, the later Italian campaigns against various African countries, and the Portuguese wars in Africa.

In the decades following the European Great War which ended in 1918, all these countries embarked upon various forms of fascism. Fascism was a Mediterranean

political invention. It was a way of suppressing popular revolt and imposing peace through rule by a single party allied to the upper classes, afraid of losing all they possessed in the event of an imagined proletarian revolution. Fascism was, therefore, a retrograde movement aimed at neutralizing the working classes by demagoguery or terror. It originated in Southern Europe although, paradoxically, it was in the north, in Germany, that it found its most violent and extreme expression.

In the Mediterranean countries of Europe, really democratic intervals were few and far between, and consisted of republican or radical experiments which the dominant classes, allied with the military or with semi-fascist or frankly fascist parties, did not allow to succeed. Nevertheless, during the same period the forces of social change were already on the move. The day would come in all these countries when the dictatorial, anti-democratic régimes would become useless and inadequate for an area of the European world that had been completely transformed.

To some extent the transformation of the Mediterranean was obscured by these régimes, which gave too backward an impression of the societies they encompassed. Italy, and to a lesser extent Spain, were already minor industrial powers in the decades before the First World War. Large-scale industrial enterprises were created in both countries under the aegis of fascism, with State capital compensating for the lack of private investment.

In the 1950s Italy, which had been liberated from fascism by the Allies in 1945, became the first country to experience what came to be called an "economic miracle". The Spanish "economic miracle" took place in the following decade, beginning in 1959. During this period, and to a lesser degree later on, these countries experienced spectacular industrial growth rates which were surpassed only by those of Japan. The same years saw an increasingly rapid decline in the numbers of people working on the land, without any drop in agricultural production. A veritable "deruralization" was beginning to take place in all these societies, although the phenomenon was much less pronounced in Portugal. Cities grew more quickly than ever before in European history, and were unable to absorb the massive influx of new immigrants. Urban growth was particularly explosive in Spain. The populations of Milan, Turin, Barcelona, Madrid, Bilbao and Athens doubled or tripled in two decades. In their endlessly sprawling suburbs shantytowns proliferated on a scale that dwarfed the *bidonvilles* of Paris.

Two other phenomena—tourism, and the economic growth and prosperity of Europe in the 1960s—coincided with this massive migration from the country to the cities and from agriculture to industry, and helped to avert an explosive political and social situation in these countries. European economic expansion, which continued virtually until 1974,



Photo Warwide Ball © MEPhA, London

Immense in area, like its neighbours Algeria and Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah has one of the lowest population densities in the world (only 2 inhabitants per Km²). Its per capita income, on the other hand, is one of the highest in the Mediterranean basin, higher than that of Spain and Italy, essentially because of the revenues from its enormous oilfields. The percentage of the labour force engaged in agriculture is low and that employed in the services sector is high. Photo shows the head of a Medusa from Leptis Magna, the Phoenician, Carthaginian and Roman city whose ruins stand near to the Libyan capital of Tripoli.

Colour page opposite

Above: a landlocked sea, the Mediterranean has always been open to the world beyond its shores. Three great civilizations born in the region—those of Western Christianity, Islam and Byzantium—carried their message far afield. The Mediterranean has had its great travellers and geographers such as Strabo, Ibn Battuta and Al Bakri, and two explorers from the Mediterranean basin extended the boundaries of the world known to their European contemporaries. In the 13th century the Venetian Marco Polo gave Europeans their first information about central Asia and China and in the late 15th century the Genoese Christopher Columbus made his epic voyage to America. Photo shows the pepper harvest, a miniature from a 15th-century manuscript of The Book of Marco Polo.

Below: In the Mediterranean, death is surrounded by a ritual designed to soften its impact on those who mourn. Photo shows a scene of mourning at the tomb of a Castilian knight, Sancho Sáez de Carrillo (late 13th century) now in the Museum of Catalan Art in Barcelona.

absorbed an enormous quantity of manpower from Southern Europe. Millions of Greeks, Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Turks, Portuguese and Italians crossed the Alps and the Pyrenees to look for work. The money they sent back to their families strengthened the currencies of the receiving countries and increased the purchasing power of the recipients, thus stimulating the domestic markets of these countries. The advantages for the host countries (the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and France) were, of course, even greater, since they obtained docile, cheap, healthy workers in the prime of life.

For the countries of the south, tourism was also an unexpected source of income and one which, for the first time, benefited people of all conditions and not only the ruling class. Mass tourism breathed new life into the manufacturing and construction industries, led to an increase in the number of mechanical workshops, provided seasonal employment for thousands of unskilled young people, contributed to the development of national airlines, helped to finance the ►

► construction of motorways and airports and accelerated changes in mentality which had already been initiated by other historical forces.

The fact is that by the mid-1970s, if not before, these countries had changed. Of course, visitors could still see not only traces of the past but scenes from a pre-industrial era of a kind which it is still easy to find today in Portugal, in some parts of Andalusia, in rural southern Italy, in Apulia and Sicily, in many of the Greek islands and in the inland mountain regions of Greece. Even if the numbers of telephones, cars and electrical household appliances per head of population are still lower than elsewhere in Europe, the interesting fact is that they are gradually catching up. Other figures, such as the percentages of students at universities, family size (and also, unfortunately, the statistics for unemployment and delinquency) are growing closer, if not equal, to those for the rest of Europe. Although the two Europes are still not fully comparable, the gap between them in these respects is now so narrow that it is impossible to maintain that they are destined never to meet.

From 1974 onwards, with the fall of the reactionary régimes in Greece and Portugal and the crumbling of the Franco régime in Spain which began in the following year, the eyes of the world were on the Mediterranean. Italy, which had enjoyed a liberal constitution since 1948,

seemed to be the only country in the region to have escaped dictatorship. In addition, the violence of the recent civil wars in Greece and Spain seemed to have irremediably polarized their populations into hostile camps, and the colonial wars in which Portugal was engaged did not augur well for a reasonably peaceful transition to democracy.

But to universal surprise this is exactly what happened. After several unsuccessful attempts, a democratic movement within the Portuguese armed forces carried out a military coup d'état on 25 April 1974 and placed power (or, initially at least, a large share of it) in the hands of freely elected political parties. In the same year the Greek colonels embarked on a venture in Cyprus, the failure of which discredited them with their dwindling number of supporters. In Spain the dictator's death, after several years during which the régime had intensified its repression of a number of popular movements (workers, students, professional people) was followed by a final manoeuvre to save the régime; but the latter gradually lost credit from 1976 onwards. A series of referenda and general elections led to a de facto democratic situation in 1977 and the proclamation of a democratic constitution in the following year. At the beginning of the 1980s the West Mediterranean European countries were not only enjoying liberal democratic régimes but had progressed from a stage of political transition to one of democratic consolidation.

One must proceed with caution and even with a certain degree of scepticism when considering the old societies of Southern Europe. It cannot be denied that these nations, heirs to ancient civilizations and participants in a long and glorious history, are again showing signs of great vitality. This is clearly indicated by their recent economic expansion and their participation in the technological revolution, in which, not without difficulty, they are playing an ever more important role. At the same time their creativity in the arts and sciences and in the fields of culture and university education is attaining ever higher levels. But their situation does not justify unmixed optimism.

Because they have not yet achieved the level of industrial productivity and technological rationalization of other countries, the Mediterranean countries of Europe are far less well equipped to cope with the economic recession and financial and employment crises of the 1980s. Their socio-economic structures, i.e. the pattern of distribution of private wealth, were still relatively antiquated when the period of rapid prosperity in the West began to run out after 1973.

Moreover, unemployment, which affects the middle classes and university graduates as well as the working class, is a more serious problem in Southern Europe than in the North. When the economic crisis hit the South the welfare state was far less developed there than in the North, and it is very difficult to expand welfare services and improve the quality of benefits in times of penury. In Western Europe the development of the vast apparatus of the welfare state—free education for all, free medical services, unemployment and retirement benefits—occurred during the prosperous years which followed the Second World War.

As if this were not enough, Southern Europe is also one of the world's most traditionalist regions. This is not always in contradiction with its renewed vitality, since innovation is an essential part of the European cultural, technical and ideological tradition, but it can be an obstacle to progress in times of crisis. Administrative corruption and political patronage are not a monopoly of the Mediterranean countries but in these countries they often reach proportions that in the European political and cultural context are intolerable. Nevertheless, in a growing number of cases the courts of law are functioning normally and prosecuting offences of this kind, thus proving that modernization is also making an impact in this difficult field.

But the traditionalism of Mediterranean Europe also has less encouraging aspects. Southern peoples are, for instance, still deeply attached to their ethnic groups, nationalities, regions and localities. In order to relax the tensions that such feelings could generate within a democratic framework, Spain has be-

This table reveals a general decline in the agricultural labour force in Mediterranean countries in recent decades, combined with an increase in the percentage of persons employed in industry, and in the services sector (which includes tourism, one of the region's main sources of income). Also apparent are marked differences between the northwest Mediterranean countries and Israel (whose figures bear a strong similarity to those of the industrialized countries) on the one hand, and the countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean (closer to the developing countries), on the other.

PERCENTAGES OF THE LABOUR FORCE

	Agriculture		Industry		Services	
	1965	1981	1965	1981	1965	1981
Spain	34	14	35	40	31	46
France	18	8	40	39	42	53
Italy	24	11	42	45	34	44
Yugoslavia	57	29	21	35	22	36
Greece	51	37	22	28	27	35
Turkey	74	54	11	13	15	33
Syrian A. R.	53	33	20	31	27	36
Lebanon	28	11	25	27	47	62
Israel	12	7	35	36	53	57
Egypt	56	50	15	30	29	20
Libyan A.J.	42	19	20	28	38	53
Tunisia	53	35	20	32	27	33
Algeria	59	25	14	25	27	50
Morocco	60	52	15	21	25	27

Source: World Development Report, 1985, World Bank

*This land which is like the head of a mare
Which has galloped from distant Asia
To plunge into the Mediterranean,
This land is ours....*

Nazim Hikmet
(1902-1963)

come a semi-federal state with extensive powers granted to minority nationalities such as the Basques and the Catalans.

Italy has also introduced an extensive system of regionalization in order to put an end to the endemic centralism of the past. Italy was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Rome which set up the Common Market, and one of the promoters of the European Community, which is not only economic but aspires to the eventual creation of a single political area for all the citizens of Western Europe. The vast majority of Spaniards, Portuguese and Greeks are enthusiastic Europeans whose admission to the Community was hindered because of their dictatorial régimes. After excessive delays the Greeks joined the Common Market in 1981 and Spain and Portugal will do so in 1986. This is much more than a symbolic event. It is a return to the family fold of peoples whose recent tragic history kept them apart from the rest of Europe. This return will be crowned with success provided the new Europe does not withdraw into itself and becomes a force for peace and solidarity with other nations. It is not too much to hope that the Mediterranean countries, which are much closer in many respects to the less privileged nations of the world, will oblige the rest of the continent to reach out to a world that demands fraternal, efficient collaboration from Europe as a whole. ■

SALVADOR GINER of Spain, is Reader in sociology and social anthropology at Brunel University, London. He has also taught at the Universities of Barcelona, Puerto Rico, Reading and Lancaster, and has been a visiting professor at Yale. He is currently vice president of the Spanish Sociological Association, and a member of the executive committee of the International Sociological Association, which collaborates with Unesco. A number of his works have appeared in English, including *Sociology*, 1972. He is also the co-editor of *Contemporary Europe: Social Structure and Cultural Patterns*, 1978.



Photo Petitjean © REA, Paris



Photo © Charles Henneghien, Marcinielle, Belgium



Photo Michelangelo Durazzo © ANA

Top, new cars parked near the Alfa Romeo plant in Milan, Italy. Industrialization, more advanced in the countries of the northwest Mediterranean than elsewhere in the region, is the most visible aspect of the modernization process. In the rural areas, traditions and a certain inertia are much stronger, and development is inhibited by the aridity prevalent in the southern part of the basin. Above, land irrigated by water from the Bin El Ouidan dam, in Morocco. Agriculture is still centred on traditional crops such as the vine, the olive and wheat. Left, wheatfields south of Palermo, in Sicily.

Photo © Department of Antiquities, Ministry of Communication and Public Works, Nicosia



Photo Unesco/Alexis Vorontzoff



Unesco and cooperation in the Mediterranean

ALTHOUGH the Mediterranean region straddles three continents and englobes many different countries, Unesco recognized the specific nature of its problems early on and has made a growing contribution to solving them.

The major work carried out by Unesco in the study and development of arid zones began around the Mediterranean. The idea of an action programme in this field was adopted at Unesco's third General Conference, held in Beirut in 1948. The first international symposium on arid zone hydrology was held at Ankara in 1952, and this important scientific meeting was followed by many others, including symposia on plant ecology (Montpellier, 1953); on the protection of nature in the Near East (Beirut, 1954); on plant-water relationships (Madrid, 1959); on climatic change (Rome, 1961); and on land use in a Mediterranean climate (Heraklion, 1962).

Studies carried out over more than four years led to the publication in 1963 by Unesco, in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) of a *Bioclimatic Map of the Mediterranean Zone*. This was followed in 1969 by a *Vegetation Map of the Mediterranean Region*, which is still the best basis for assessing the region's highly distinctive ecological conditions.

The tradition of these activities is today

being maintained by Unesco's interdisciplinary research programme on Man and the Biosphere (MAB). This programme, launched in 1971, broadens the range of Unesco's Mediterranean activities, which reflect the strong determination of all Mediterranean countries to cooperate in safeguarding their common heritage.

The Mediterranean region is a privileged area for certain major research themes of the MAB programme, whose ultimate objective is to provide a scientific basis for the rational management of natural resources and lasting harmony in the relationship between man and his environment. Mechanisms for concerted action by Mediterranean countries have been elaborated at a number of meetings held in connexion with the implementation of the MAB programme. One of the most important of these meetings was the MAB Mediterranean Scientific Conference, which was held at Montpellier in 1976 and was attended by all MAB national committees from countries bordering the Mediterranean. A number of subjects of common interest were examined, including the effects of fire on Mediterranean ecosystems, the impact of grazing in marginal zones, management methods for deltas and irrigated zones, the development of catchment areas and the fight against erosion.

One major MAB research theme concerning the Mediterranean is a project relating to the ecological effects of human activities on lakes, streams, deltas, estuaries and especially coastal areas, where the combined effects of tourism, urbanization and industry often cause considerable damage.

Other MAB studies are aimed at determining the optimum social, economic and environmental conditions for the balanced development of ecosystems on the smaller Mediterranean islands, given their fragility and marginal nature. Integrated management exercises have been carried out on the islands of Skiathos and Skopelos (Greece), Salina (Italy) and Kerkennah (Tunisia). A development plan is being prepared for the Greek island of Chalki and an intersectoral model programmed on a micro-computer has been worked out for the Maltese island of Gozo.

One activity stemming from this project has been the establishment on a number of smaller islands of simple experimental stations operated by the local authorities. The role of the stations is to make concrete proposals for the wise use of available natural and human resources and to develop techniques for, notably, energy production, the treatment and recycling of waste, and aquaculture.

An international symposium on development problems in the smaller Mediterranean islands, held in Ibiza and Formentera (Balearic Islands) in October 1985 has led to wider cooperation in this field between the countries concerned.

The MAB programme in the Mediterranean region currently includes about a dozen country projects in such fields as forest ecosystems, the development of coastal areas, the desert ecosystems of North Africa, the study of parasites affecting agricultural systems in delta regions, and regional exchanges of ecological information.

Through its Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC), Unesco plays an active role in the Action Plan for the Mediterranean launched by the Mediterranean countries in 1975 under the auspices of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). Its work includes carrying out pilot projects on the continuous monitoring of oil and hydrocarbon pollution and on the coastal transport of pollutants; studying the role of sediments in pollution; measuring the contribution of rivers to pollution; modelling marine ecosystems; and organizing reference collections of Mediterranean marine flora and fauna.

Other interesting examples of cooperation between Mediterranean countries could be cited, notably as part of Unesco's International Geological Correlation Programme through which, in collaboration with the International Union of Geological Sciences, studies are being made of the desiccation of the Mediterranean during the Miocene and Pliocene eras, the stratigraphical correlation of the Mediterranean's ancestor, the Tethys, during the Neogene era, and the analysis of sea-levels in order to forecast short-term variations in them.

The Mediterranean region where, broad-►

Islands abound in the Mediterranean, from the small and the medium-sized (such as Malta and the islands of the Aegean), to such large islands as the Balearics, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Crete and Cyprus. On some of them, landscapes and regional ways of life have been better preserved than on the continental landmass, and form a field for study and conservation in which Unesco is active. In 1980, for example, the Director-General of Unesco, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, launched an international campaign to safeguard the sites and monuments of Malta. Opposite page below, the citadel of Victoria on the Maltese island of Gozo. Opposite page above, the ruins of the odelon (theatre) at one of the oldest cities in the Mediterranean, Paphos in southwest Cyprus.

► By speaking, the African tectonic plate collides with the Eurasian plates, is a zone of intensive seismic activity marked by relatively frequent and serious earthquakes. Under Unesco's auspices, cooperation has been instituted for studying the probable location of earthquakes and precautions that could limit their effects. A programme for the reduction of seismic risks in the Arab region is currently being carried out with the financial support of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development and the Islamic Development Bank. Unesco's assistance has also been sought by the French Geological and Mining Research Bureau for the preparation of a seismotectonic map of the Mediterranean basin. The Mediterranean is also one of the three major regions which are the subject of a joint Unesco-UNEP study on the establishment of a volcanic eruption alert system.

The ancient city of Tyre (Lebanon) is an archaeological site of major importance. In 1979, the United Nations Security Council declared Tyre to be an endangered part of the world heritage, and in 1980 Unesco's Executive Board appealed for it to be preserved. In 1982 the Director-General of Unesco again intervened on behalf of this prestigious site, in the protection of which a non-governmental organization, the International Association to Save Tyre, is playing a leading part. Below, remains of Greek columns at Tyre.

In the cultural field, Unesco has sponsored research into the renovation of historic sites in the Mediterranean, notably the historic centres of Kastoria in Greece and Palermo and Otranto in Italy. It is also active in the preservation of the Casbah of Algiers, in the establishment of national museums in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and in Egypt (Aswan and Cairo), and in the protection of the archaeological site of Jerash in Jordan. Major international campaigns have also been launched by Unesco to save a number of prestigious sites in the Mediterranean, including the Medina of Fez (Morocco), the Medina of Tunis and the ruins of Carthage (Tunisia), the Acropolis of Athens (Greece), historic sites and buildings in Malta, monuments and sites in Montenegro damaged in the 1979 earthquake, the historic quarters of Istanbul (Turkey) and the archaeological site of Tyre (Lebanon). Since it was ravaged by severe flooding in 1966, the city of Venice has been the focus of an interdisciplinary campaign to save not only the city itself and its monuments but all the lagoons on which it depends.

As part of its programme on intercultural studies, Unesco pays special attention to the Mediterranean area as a cultural crossroads. A series of specialist meetings on Mediterranean cultures began in Malta in 1978. In accordance with a recommendation of the World Conference on Cultural Policies (MONDIACULT) held in Mexico City, the establishment of a Liaison Office for Mediterranean Cultures was envisaged in 1982. In addition, several Mediterranean countries have undertaken to establish a number of specialized Mediterranean centres—a Handicrafts Centre in France, a Submarine Archaeology Centre in Athens, a Community of Mediterranean Universities at Bari (see page 40), a Centre of Andalusian Studies in Beirut, a Plastic Arts Centre in Tangiers, and an Architecture and Town-Planning Centre in Istanbul. These centres, whose activities will be coordinated and supported by Unesco, should provide an efficient structure for the promotion of intercultural studies in the Mediterranean region.

Cooperation between the States with a Mediterranean seaboard is thus institutionalized in many fields. It is to be hoped that in spite of, or perhaps because of, past conflicts, perception of their geographical solidarity, economic complementarity and cultural affinities will encourage the Mediterranean countries to extend their cooperation to other fields within the competence of Unesco and of other United Nations bodies.

■



Photo René Burri © Magnum, Paris

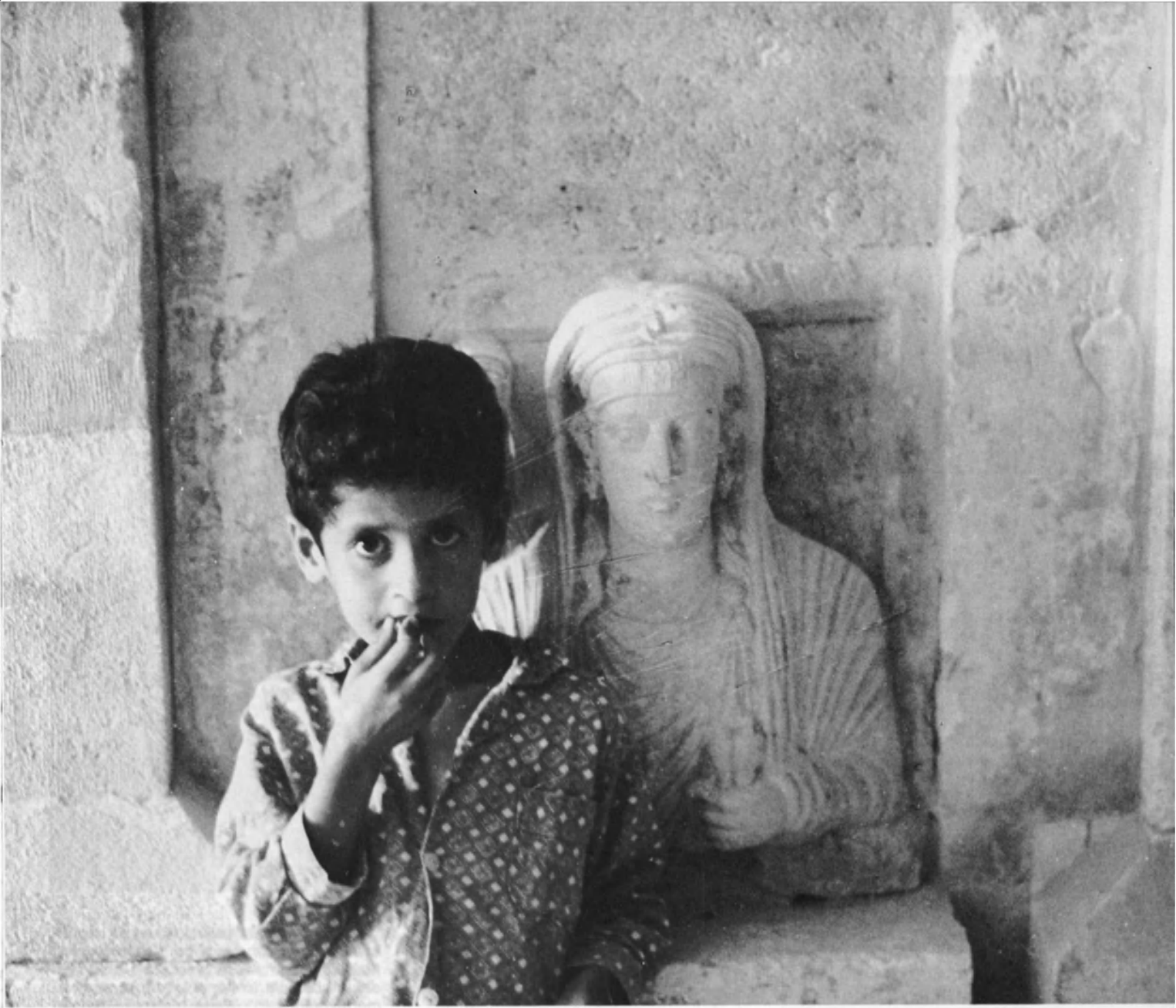


Photo Dan Dubert/Unesco

A region in search of itself

by Paolo Apolito

Above, a Syrian boy stands beside a stone statue adorning an underground mausoleum at Palmyra. They are divided by some twenty centuries but joined by the kind of family resemblance that survives in the history of nations swayed by invasion and conquest.

A PART from questions of strategy, is it possible today to form a mental image of the Mediterranean as a whole, to talk in terms of a "Mediterranean entity"? It is reasonable to suppose that Mediterranean countries on the road to "development" or "revolution" do not regard the "Mediterranean" as a region common to them all, but look instead to the *centre* of modernization or revolution. In other words, they look beyond the Mediterranean, to the West, to socialism, or to pan-Islamism.

What, then, is left of the Mediterranean besides the geographical expression? In my opinion, not much more than a utopian idea (but is this utopia attainable?). In recent years, intellectual minorities in some coun-

tries have begun—or begun again—to talk about the Mediterranean. In most countries of the region, this has coincided more or less with the crisis of the "diffusionist" model of development according to which development and modernization spread constantly and gradually, like an oil stain, slowly permeating from a centre—the industrialized regions—towards outer regions which are in contact with the centre, or rather are influenced by it. Sooner or later, industrialization gives rise to social and cultural changes which bring the outer regions to the same level of civilization as the centre—a level which of course is measured according to criteria set by the centre—and thus brings the state of underdevelopment to an end. Italy's policy towards her southern regions, ►



*Risen the sea wind,
now that night comes,
away to the nets.*

*The wind's flight
has covered with fog
the whole sweep of the sky.*

*The eyes of the night
play blind man's buff
with the first crickets.*

Salvador Espriu
(born 1913)

*The sea
smiles far away,
Teeth of foam,
lips of sky.*

*—What are you selling, o troubled
girl with breasts free in the air?*

*—Sir, I am selling the water
of the seas—.*

Federico García Lorca
(1898-1936)

► for instance, has been based on this model for decades.

But at the end of the 1960s and especially in the 1970s it became clear that this model took no account of what was actually happening in the developing countries, and it was replaced by new interpretative models, none of which, however, was entirely satisfactory.

If the diffusionist model had worked, the Mediterranean as the focal point of influence from a number of economic centres, would have lost its distinctive historical and geographical features to an all-embracing industrial society.

Things turned out differently, however, and the result is that the Mediterranean, in the view of the intellectual minorities mentioned above, is coming back into its own as an area with a common history. The outer regions are slowly abandoning the attempt to identify themselves with centres which they have long vainly sought to emulate, and are looking elsewhere for their identity. In the Mediterranean, development can obviously follow a variety of directions. It is coming to be recognized that this is a region of common or contrasting civilizations. (It must be emphasized that this is as yet a minority view).

Then the idea emerged that the Mediterranean is a kind of hinge between North and South, between the industrialized world and the developing world. Both

“... the complex of mentalities and social behaviour which may be described as ‘tradition’ and which has been a formidable obstacle to all attempts at economic planning.” Above, view of Ploče, a Yugoslav town near the Adriatic coast.

worlds are represented in the Mediterranean; economically, culturally, historically and geographically they are very closely related. These relationships could form the basis of a new kind of balance between the continents of Europe and Africa and, to some extent, Asia. This is not an original idea, but it is the only one so far that seems defensible and even reasonable.

From the standpoint of a purely “economist” logic of development, political concepts such as “cultural region”, “identity” and “historical depth” are considered to be irrelevant, if not positively dangerous. According to this view, only economic and statistical parameters should be taken into account.

But sociology based on indices and parameters has proved to be short of ideas. As the economic historian Paul Bairoch has written, “the early 1970s saw the beginning of a period of disillusionment with development policies in both the ‘capitalist’ and ‘socialist’ camps (to use over-simplified



Photo Petitjean © Rea, Paris

"Some aspects of Mediterranean society have exerted such pressure that they have restricted the effectiveness of this (Western) development model." Above, the village of Alberobello in southern Italy.

terms). There have been many failures and semi-failures in both camps, but few successes". National bourgeoisies (which Franz Fanon had already denounced as incompetent) and bureaucratic and military castes had all employed similar procedures, theoretically dependent on scientific models—whether capitalist or socialist—which were based on situations that already belonged to the past and attached absolute value to economic factors. Cultural problems were seen as the province of moralizing anthropologists, and the aim of both camps was the rapid achievement of massive industrialization.

Implicit in the development model that almost everyone accepted is a backward-looking, ethnocentric philosophy of history which is more effective when it is represented as economic pragmatism. The Italian historian Rosario Romeo has given a good description of this kind of philosophy, which "proceeds from the tacit assumption that there is a kind of normal or exemplary historical process that coincides with the history of Western countries, which

attained national unity early on and then went on to construct the edifice of political and economic freedoms which have led to the apogee of the modern industrial democracies. But the histories of other countries are seen as tainted, to a greater or lesser degree, by distortions and backwardness, and are to be assessed in terms of the extent to which they deviate from the history of the countries of the North Atlantic region". (*Europa e Mediterraneo: una prospettiva storiografica*, 1984)

The norm changes from time to time: besides referring to the history of the Western countries, it requires that statistical figures and tables should take precedence over all other considerations, that the centre of the economic system should be copied whatever the cost, and that the strategical motive force of development should be an altar on which the rest of the economy must be sacrificed. Apart from the ethnocentric and culturally imperialistic nature of this philosophy, the result is that reality is reduced to a few categories and thereby impoverished.

However, certain aspects of Mediterranean societies have exerted such pressure that they have restricted the effectiveness of this development model. A good example of this is the complex of mentalities and social behaviour which may be described as "tradition" and which has been a formidable obstacle to all attempts at eco-

nometric planning. More precisely, the tradition-modernity dialectic has developed in a different way from what was expected. Whereas it was thought that tradition would slowly disappear as a result of the powerful stimulus of modernity, it was perceived that in fact "tradition and modernity... relate to each other through a variety of compromises and mutual adjustments, with the outcome varying greatly from one place to another". (Peter Berger, *Pyramids of Sacrifice*)

For decades, the racist variety of positivist anthropology took the lead in maintaining that the nordic "races" were the best equipped for success in the modern, industrialized world, relegating the Latin countries and the Mediterranean region to limbo because of their supposed inability to overcome their anachronistic backwardness. Between the wars, historiographic paradigms were propagated which, while they put an end to racist anthropology, provided new arguments to emphasize the superiority of certain countries over others.

In the words of Rosario Romeo, "The new 'scientific' history of the quantitative and 'serial' historians, like the old anthropology of the positivists, may conceal an ideology whose aim is to assert the superiority, conferred by destiny, of the Atlantic countries over the others... The same purpose is served by a political historiography on which ideology exerts such a strong ►

If all the trees in the earth were pens, and the sea, with seven more seas to replenish it, were ink, the writing of Allah's words could never be finished.

The Qur'an

"... tradition and modernity relate to each other through a variety of compromises and mutual adjustments, with the outcome varying greatly from one place to another." Below, street scene at Korçë in Albania.



Photo M. Huleau © ANA, Paris

► pressure that in some cases it leads to the violation of the elementary rules of conduct of the historian's profession. In this way, countries not on the Atlantic are relegated to the margins of the world's historical development and, by implication, destined to remain there. The common consciousness, in which so many of the racist prejudices that have been overcome at the cultural level come to life again, combines with the kind of historiography described above to suggest that the attitudes required by modern mass industrial society are largely in the possession of the Atlantic nations, and that consequently other nations should aim to acquire, as far as possible, the attitudes, values and techniques of the latter". The various development sociologies continue to affirm, by implication, the impossibility of reaching the level of the models of developed societies that they themselves present as examples.

One of the most decisive contributions to the downfall of this philosophy was the comical recent "discovery" that the heights of development, which it was natural for the Western, Atlantic countries to scale, had at last been reached by Japan, a country which belongs to neither of these categories.

If the Japanese success story teaches us anything, it is that the last word has never been spoken in history, that models, norms, parameters and ideologies are never definitive in the world of men, a world that is less closed today than in the past—if ever it was so.

The Mediterranean, of course, is not Japan. In the Mediterranean region severe economic stagnation is accompanied by a dangerous potential for political explosions. The coming together of civilizations seems increasingly utopian in a deeply divided region. The difficulties are enormous in a world where it seems that the strong are growing stronger and the weak weaker. But this is precisely why the solution is not to be found in economics only; it must be sought in a broader context, reaching to the very heart of civilizations, and reviving pride in their identity.

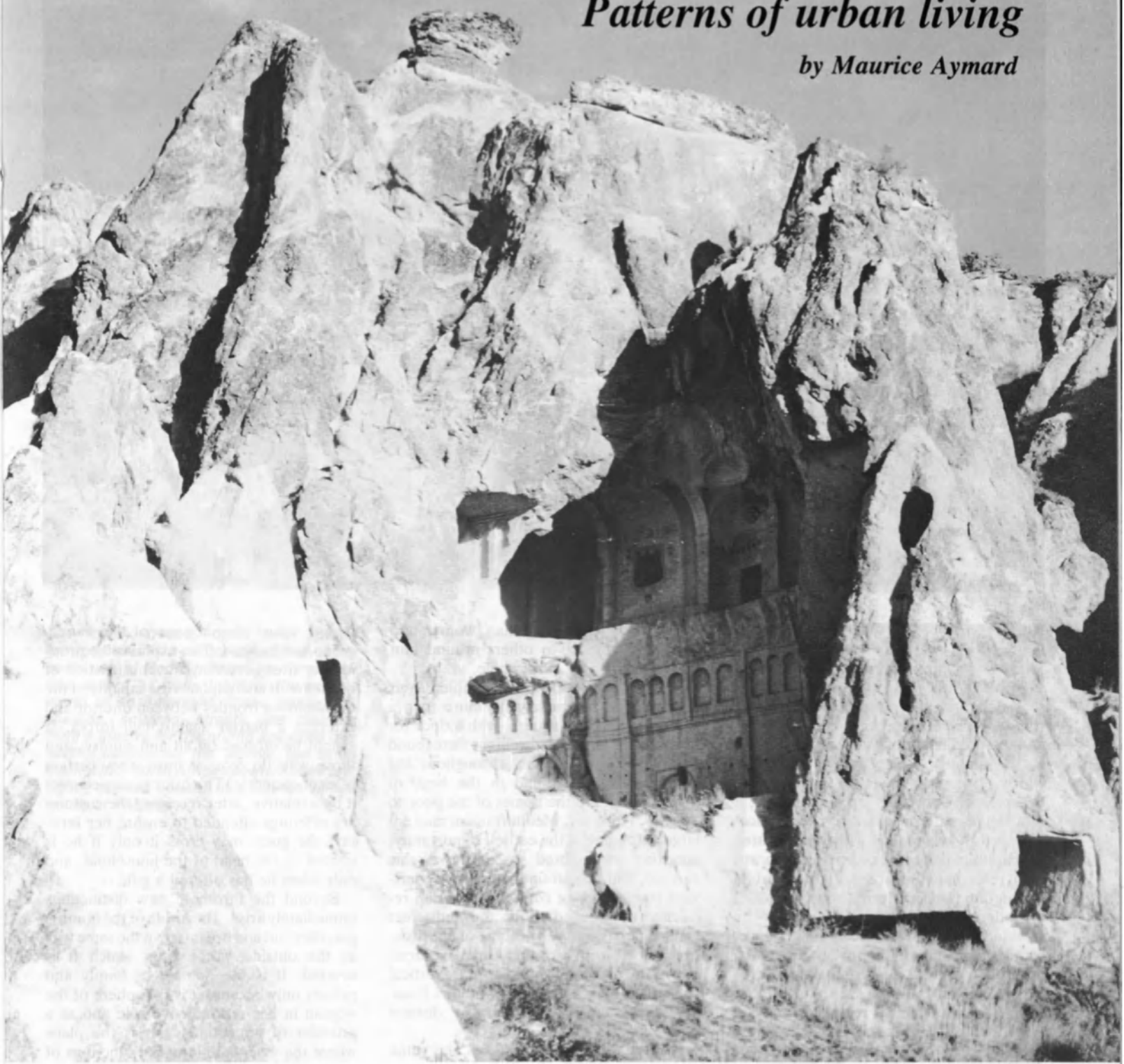
The problem faced by the Mediterranean is how to vanquish its inferiority complexes so that it may again become a centre of attraction, continuing its history, which is far from ended, and reviving the Utopian dream. We must start talking earnestly about the Mediterranean again, and lay the first stone in the construction of a boundless future. ■

PAOLO APOLITO, of Italy, is professor of cultural anthropology at the faculty of letters of Salerno University. His major research field is that of cultural change in traditional societies, and he has also studied the evolution of magic, festivals and ritual. Among his published works are *Lettere al Mago* ("Letters to the Magus", 1981) and *Il Popolo del Totem* ("The Totem People", 1985).

Public spaces and private faces

Patterns of urban living

by Maurice Aymard



The separation of the family cell from the outside world is an important feature of traditional domestic architecture in the Mediterranean, and in some mountainous parts of the region the protective function of the dwelling even took precedence over all others. Above, in the valley of Göreme in Cappadocia (Turkey) communities numbering thousands found refuge over the centuries in a complex of churches, monasteries and dwellings hewn out of the living rock. Turkey and Unesco have launched an appeal for international solidarity to preserve the site of Göreme and safeguard it from the effects of erosion.

WHERE do Mediterranean people choose to live? Never alone, always in a group, regardless of its size or wealth. In the Mediterranean, it takes only a thousand people scraping a poor living off the land and trading in its produce to create an urban unit and infuse into it the vital forces of cohesion and opposition. Elsewhere, twice that number would amount to no more than a village.

From the simple township to the major conurbation, there are all the levels of a hierarchy which is complex because it is based not only on population figures, eco-

nomic activity or accumulated capital, but also on history, the architecture of buildings, prestige, political and administrative activities (which define élites), intellectual life, and an intangible element that makes one city more of a city than another.

Major towns and cities enjoy looking down on smaller ones as mere villages, and their inhabitants as unpolished rustics. Nevertheless, even the smallest village appears as an urban microcosm in the sense that the group is the core of all social life. The word *city*, in the Mediterranean basin, refers to all these different strata of urban ►



► life, each of which is formed on the same model.

The town, as a theatre for trade and communication, leisure, and all aspects of social life, is clearly distinct from the countryside, which is a place of work, animal life and the production of material goods. It is not a simple, homogeneous place into which anyone can walk and automatically become a city-dweller. On the contrary, it is a dense pattern of interwoven spaces arranged in accordance with an unwritten yet carefully respected order whose constituent rules, apparent at every level of urban life, define the complexity of a culture.

Modern town planning was born in the Mediterranean, in fifth-century Greece, with Hippodamos of Miletus, who invented the grid layout. It has triumphed during every era of cultural standardization, whenever the systematic reproduction of an established model, acclaimed as superior, has taken a kind of revenge on spontaneous development: in Hellenistic Greece, in Rome, during the Renaissance and the Baroque period, and in the contemporary world.

More than the functional needs proclaimed by Haussmann centuries later, it proclaims the total transparency of inhabited space, and is, essentially, an urban ideal in which order reigns over darkness and the human mind is the dominant force. Yet even in propitious circumstances, such attempts at organization are checked by the outer walls of the basic unit: the home. The home is a haven for fundamental distinctions, the foremost being the separation between public and private life, followed by

others that situate every man, woman and child with respect to others around him and to the world as a whole.

The home can be quite simple, even rudimentary, comprising no more than a room three metres square, with a door for its sole aperture. Such dwellings were found in archaic Greek cities, throughout the Maghreb, in Sicily, and in the *bassi* of Naples. Such are the homes of the poor to this day. However, Mediterranean man enlarged his home at the earliest opportunity, annexing an enclosed space (the Arabic *zareba*), building around an interior courtyard (the *atrium* or *cortile* of patrician residences), secluded from the indiscreet glances of passersby. This type of construction is horizontal rather than vertical. However, with the Roman *insulae*, vertical construction, as it appears in today's housing blocks, began to superpose distinct areas of space.

For the home always serves the same purpose; it unites the family and its material possessions (including animals) under one roof, but it also separates the family from the outside world, and safeguards the para-

mount value: the honour of the family group and its head. This explains the propitiatory rites governing the construction of the home. It also explains the sanctity of the threshold—a frontier between interior and exterior, a barrier against evil forces. It cannot be crossed by all and sundry, and those who do cross it must obey certain rules of etiquette. The bride is carried over it by a relative, after receiving the customary offerings intended to ensure her fertility; the guest may cross it only if he is invited by the head of the household, and only when he has offered a gift.

Beyond the threshold new distinctions immediately arise. The inside of the home is parcelled out and organized in the same way as the outside world from which it is severed. It is the domain of family and privacy only because it is the sphere of the woman in her reproductive role and as a provider of nourishment. It is the place where the essential biological functions of feeding, resting and procreating are performed. Man's presence within this sphere is strictly limited. He is excluded from it by day, for his business is elsewhere, either at

CONTINUED PAGE 32

*Blue clads blue with stridency
And, crazy vibration, melts, erases and mingles.
Thus the sea is created, second nudity...*

Abdelmajid Choufi
(born 1939)



Photo © John Hopkins, London

The family house, often with rooms grouped around a central courtyard, is the basic unit of Mediterranean towns and cities, where its walls insulate the private world of an intensely closed family life. Outside, squares, streets and markets form a theatre for the public activities of a zestful community life. Above, the cattle market in a North African town. Above left, tightly packed houses in a Sicilian village south of Palermo.



Photo © Ara Güler, Turkey

Barriers visible and invisible mark off the territory of the menfolk from that of the women in traditional Mediterranean towns and cities. The squares and pavement cafés where men gather to talk and take their place in the community are modern descendants of the Greek agora and the Roman forum. The women's realm, right, is traditionally in the privacy of the home, bounded by the sacred threshold.

In Roman and medieval times a rich intellectual, spiritual and institutional heritage was transmitted to Atlantic Europe from the Mediterranean world. Its components included monotheistic religion and (until the Reformation) a form of religious organization dominated by Rome; language, law and State institutions; the prestige of the written word which inspired the medieval copyists; and scientific instruments for measuring time such as the sun dial and the water clock. Right, detail from a 16th-century Ottoman manuscript shows astronomers working at an Istanbul observatory. Below, detail from Raphael's fresco The School of Athens in the Vatican, Rome. The fresco shows Plato and Aristotle surrounded by philosophers past and present.



Photo © Derek Price, by permission of the General Library, Istanbul



Photo © Giraudon, Paris

Facts and figures

The total area of the 18 countries bordering on the Mediterranean is slightly over 8.5 million sq. km. The largest country is Algeria with an area of almost 2.4 million sq. km., followed by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (1.7 million), and Egypt (1 million), although much of these areas consists of desert. The areas of other Mediterranean countries vary between 100,00 and 500,000 sq. km.

The estimated total population of these countries is 350 million. France and Italy have the highest population (about 55 million each), followed by Turkey and Egypt with about 45 million each. The countries with the lowest population are Malta (350,000) and Monaco (25,000).

Between 1950 and 1980, the demographic growth rate of the north Mediterranean countries ranged between 22 per cent (Italy) and 37 per cent (Yugoslavia). During the same period the rate for Algeria and Tunisia was 116 per cent, 125 per cent for Morocco and 157 per cent for Syria. In the most developed Mediterranean countries the percentage of inhabitants aged under 15 ranges from 21 to 26 per cent (22 per cent for France, 25.7 per cent for Spain). In the other countries the corresponding rate ranges from 37 to 49 per cent, i.e. almost twice as high (42 per cent for Tunisia, 44 per cent for Egypt, 47 per cent for Algeria and 48.8 per cent for Syria). These figures point to a swing in the coming decades both in numbers (from the currently more populous northwest towards the southern and eastern Mediterranean) and in composition by age, with elderly populations in the north and youthful or very youthful populations in the south.

Apart from Malta with 1,100 inhabitants per sq. km., population densities vary from 260 per sq. km. in Lebanon to 2 in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (one of the lowest in the world) and slightly more than 8 in Algeria (also because of the desert). Egypt is a special case, with 44 inhabitants per sq. km. in the country as a whole, but 1,000 in the Nile valley and delta.

According to World Bank statistics none of the Mediterranean countries belongs to the category of least developed countries (annual per capita income of less than \$200). Most of them belong to the middle income category. They range from Egypt and Morocco (\$700 and \$760, respectively, in 1983) to Greece (\$3,920). Five countries had a per capita income exceeding \$4,500 in 1983: Israel (\$5,730), Spain (\$4,780), Italy (\$6,400), the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (an oil-producer, \$8,480), and France (\$10,500). The latter are comparable to countries such as the United States (\$14,400) and Switzerland (\$16,300).

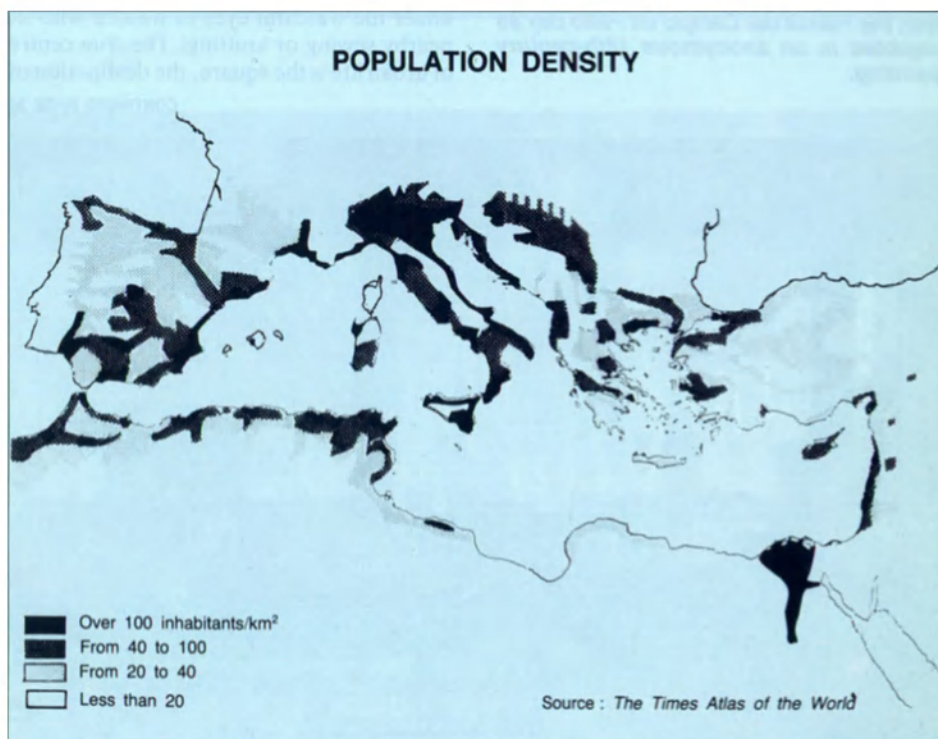
The Mediterranean countries are not afflicted with famine, although the food situation is quite serious in some of them, such as Egypt, where a large proportion of the population is undernourished.

Several countries in the Mediterranean basin (led by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Algeria) are oil and gas producers, but their deposits are smaller than those of the Middle East. The region is not very rich in mineral resources. Its share of world mineral production excluding energy products is about 6 per cent in value terms. It holds a favourable position in the production of phosphates (Mor-

POPULATION GROWTH IN MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES 1950-1983

POPULATION IN THOUSANDS	1950	1960	%	1960	1970	%	1970	1980	%	1983
Spain	28,022	8.73	30,469	10.86	33,779	10.72	38,200			
France	41,758	9.46	45,707	11.07	50,768	5.38	54,700			
Italy	46,769	5.93	49,542	8.31	53,661	6.04	56,800			
Monaco					20	25.00	25			
Malta	312	5.45	329	—	326	5.21	350*			
Yugoslavia	16,346	12.58	18,402	10.70	20,371	9.47	22,800			
Albania	1,243	31.94	1,640	30.24	2,136	26.40	2,800			
Greece	7,566	10.06	8,327	5.60	8,793	9.18	9,800			
Turkey	20,809	32.20	27,509	26.68	34,848	28.85	47,300			
Cyprus	494	15.99	573	5.41	604	2.65	620*			
Syrian Arab Rep.	3,495	30.50	4,561	37.21	6,258	43.82	9,600			
Lebanon	1,390	34.53	1,870	32.03	2,469	9.36	2,600			
Israel	1,258	68.04	2,114	40.92	2,974	31.14	4,100			
Egypt	20,461	26.25	25,832	29.02	33,329	19.42	45,200			
Libyan A.J.	1,029	31.10	1,349	47.66	1,992	50.60	3,400			
Tunisia	2,940	28.50	3,778	35.71	5,127	24.83	6,900			
Algeria	8,753	23.39	10,800	32.69	14,330	31.89	20,600			
Morocco	8,953	30.01	11,640	33.33	15,520	30.15	20,800			
MEDITERRANEAN TOTAL	211,598	15.52	244,442	17.54	287,305	15.62	346,595			
WORLD TOTAL	2,512,000	20.50	3,027,000	21.51	3,678,000	18.65	4,600,000*			

Sources : United Nations Statistical Yearbooks
World Development Report, 1985. World Bank
* Plan Bleu



occo and Tunisia), alumina (France and Greece), and mercury (Spain).

The Mediterranean is the world's leading tourist region. Out of 250 million international tourists, between 80 and 100 million—practically one in three—visit the Mediterranean each year. ■

According to World Bank projections (1985 estimates), the total population of the Mediterranean basin in 2025 will be between 550 and 600 million persons. The same projections show Turkey and Egypt as the most populous nations (each with a population around 100 million), followed by Algeria and Morocco (each with some 60 million inhabitants).

Source : Perspectives sur le Bassin Méditerranéen (Développement et Environnement) - Plan Bleu pour la Méditerranée, 1985.

work in the fields, or in the city, in the square, at the café, at meetings with other men. In summer, it is even considered normal for him to sleep out of doors on occasion.

If the home prospers and becomes large enough to entertain guests, it is divided into two parts, one for receiving, the other for the women—the gynaeceum of classical Greece, the women's apartments as opposed to the men's area, the *andron*; the sacred, forbidden harem of the Islamic world. Even nomads' tents are partitioned in this way. The barrier, representing a strict dissociation between men's and women's tasks, is functional. It is also laden with symbolism.

By its very nature, the city as a space where man must appear in public is distinguished from two others. The first of these is the home, which is a place for relaxation and sleep, but which is also the woman's

domain: closed, private, forbidden and to be protected. The second is the countryside—flat and empty, reserved for work and nature. Thus, the city is a place for action not involving work: ritual and festival, gesture and drama, leisure and games.

In considering the city as a place for ritual, it is interesting to note that not one of them lacks either a founder—real or mythical, hero or saint—or a political and religious centre, or a wall which unequivocally separates it from the countryside and, like the Roman *pomerium*, places it under divine protection. There is no city without an easily comprehensible scheme: that of its layout, when regular, that of its *cardo* and *decumanus*, intersecting at right angles; that of its axis of development; that of the roads which were responsible for its foundation, lead to its gates, and link it to other cities across fields, desert or sea; that of the orientation of its churches or the direction in which prayers are offered. Every town derives its meaning and special flavour from a system of landmarks.

Whether they were designed geometrically or grew spontaneously, cities have been organized for communication, for the exchange of signs and symbols more than for the exchange of goods. The street, that narrow, encumbered passage which the houses on it always seek to annexe as a courtyard, is rarely the main scene of such exchanges. It is a place where, given a few chairs, the barber will shave his customers, children will do their homework, or play under the watchful eyes of women who sit nearby sewing or knitting. The true centre of urban life is the square, the destination of

Colour page opposite

Above: the interpenetration of cultures and religions in the Mediterranean is often reflected in styles of monumental architecture. The Great Mosque of Cordoba is a famous example: a Christian church was built within it after the city was conquered by the kings of Castile. Photo shows the Christian basilica of St. Sophia in Istanbul, Turkey, a classical example of the Byzantine style which had widespread influence in the Christian West and in the Islamic East. After the Turkish conquest in 1453, it was used as a mosque and endowed with a mihrab (the niche indicating the direction of Mecca) and four minarets.

Below: central nave of the Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, Syria, one of the foremost sanctuaries of Islam (8th century). It was built on the site of a Christian church and contains Byzantine mosaics from an earlier period.

Twice a year, on 2 July and 16 August, thousands of spectators throng the magnificent shell-shaped Piazza del Campo in Siena (Italy) to watch the *Corsa del Palio* (Race for the Palio), a race of medieval origin in which horses and riders representing different wards of the city (contrade) compete for a silken banner or *Palio*. Brilliant displays of pageantry are held before the race and excitement mounts to fever pitch as the horses hurtle round the cobbled square at breakneck speed. Below, the Piazza del Campo on Palio day as depicted in an anonymous 18th-century painting.

CONTINUED PAGE 35







the chaotic movement that flows through the narrow alleys. Always better defended from intrusion by individuals when there is a strong sense of community, the square is the public domain par excellence, and it has been a fixture of Mediterranean town planning since the Greek *agora* and the Roman *forum*.

Consider, for example, the Plaza Mayor, that inevitable, often sumptuous feature of Spanish cities; the narrow squares that cluster around the ports of the Greek islands; the Piazze della Signoria or Piazze del Comune of middle Italy; the Plaka—the main square of Dubrovnik, which stretches from one gate of the city to the other, dividing the city in two. The square is the place for holding meetings and discussions, assembling citizens, organizing mass demonstrations, taking momentous decisions, and carrying out executions.

Originally simply a meeting place, the square soon became lined with porticoes and arcades, providing shelter from sun and rain. In most cases, it ceased to host markets; instead it gathered around it the chief religious and secular buildings, to which it acted as an antechamber and proscenium, as in the case of the temple of Rome and Augustus, the curia, the cathedral, and the ancient palace of the podesta.

It reflects its city's material and political success. As the city expands, it diversifies. The main square stands at the head of a complex hierarchy that mirrors the social order. There is a square for each neighbourhood, one for each ethnic and religious community. There is also a square for each function, market, cult, assembly or festival. There are squares the size of streets, such as the *corsi*, lined with the homes of the prosperous and luxury shops, where parades and solemn processions pass. Each square also has class overtones; it is aristocratic or of the people.

The original destiny of Islamic cities favoured a different utilization of space, fragmenting the functions of the main square. The only places where men can assemble in the centre of the city are the mosque and its courtyard, which are surrounded by *madrasahs*, *hans*, and baths. It is here that decrees are announced and prayers are intoned in the name of the ruler. Commercial activity took root in the suqs and bazaars. Other squares, perhaps the largest, formed at the gates of the cities, where travelling caravans entered and camels were unloaded.

Alleyways, streets and squares form a setting for leisure activities. The group puts

Colour page opposite

At home in the Mediterranean since neolithic times, the olive tree, the vine and wheat form a classic trio and until quite recently were the region's basic source of nourishment. Their importance is shown by their role in Christian holy ceremonies: bread and wine at the sacrament of the Last Supper, and holy oil for extreme unction. Photos show ears of corn, a bunch of grapes and an olive branch, carved on a bas-relief in the temple of Ramses II at Hermopolis in Egypt.

*New corn, I am your faithful lover
Who longed to win you.*

*Good are the days when your grain forms
when you grow higher than a man,
and your ears unfold.
How graceful you are on your stalk!*

Ben Quzmán
(12th century)

on a performance and observes itself perform. Men come there to talk and linger, not to work. They have spent their night fishing or their day tilling the fields, or else like so many men in the Mediterranean they only work irregularly, a few days each year, and are waiting for some hypothetical job to turn up. In recent years, it has become more common for them to spend their working years in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Venezuela, or Australia, returning to spend the rest of their days among their own.

The city can thus impose its own pace, which differs from the monotonous and regular routine of the working day. It is discontinuous, it consists of words and silence, of the lengthy discussions that precede every decision, accompany every transaction, and surround every event. It is the pace of the stroll, of slowly savoured ouzo. Men do not go into a café to drink but to take their place in a society of men. It is the pace of the game, which occupies such an important place in the lives of the Mediterranean peoples. Its significance is manifest in the card games depicted in a famous painting by Cézanne and a memorable scene by Pagnol, in the checkerboard squares traced on the flagstones of the forum in Rome, in the knucklebones and dice that have symbolized chance since the time of Caesar.

Games are played everywhere: in the street by the poor, but more often in public places, in cafés or on terraces, or else, where social stratification exists, in clubs and circles. Every Andalusian town and city has its "labourers' circle", every Sicilian town has at least one circle of "galantuomini", an institution that may undermine social solidarity, but gives its members an opportunity to meet their equals, get to know them and challenge them in games that invariably entail betting.

Of course, there are the business centres such as Barcelona and Genoa, caught up in the flow of international economic affairs which they controlled in the past. But these, in a way, are the exceptions. Everywhere else, the values of leisureliness still hold sway, just as they did in the Athens of

Pericles at the height of the city's importance as a centre of crafts and trade: work is for other people. The only activity that has an acknowledged place in all cities—commerce, the exchange of goods—tends to go on at a leisurely pace. What's the point of making a deal too quickly? Buying and selling, winning and losing are subsidiary to the pleasure of bargaining, to the protracted discussion that is broken off and then resumed, concluded only when the two participants congratulate one another on having played the game so well.

But living under observation by others, however important it may be, cannot be a completely satisfying goal. The show would stop for want of a purpose if it did not engage the community as well as the individual. It calls for those major performances which mobilize the group in its entirety, enabling its members to test and demonstrate its cohesion, to express and verify that cohesion, to feel its power, and draw renewed confidence from it. Such performances mark the great moments of social life. Condemnation by the moralists of the Roman empire of the theatre, circuses, chariot races and gladiatorial combats of Antiquity, even when justified on account of their decadence, has caused us to lose sight of their religious origin and significance. Today, virtually everywhere, group performances are related to sport; bullfighting in Spain, and the major religious and civic festivals still celebrated in certain Italian cities are two examples. In all cases, these performances are staged with men, by men and for men. ■

MAURICE AYMARD, French historian, is director of studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and assistant administrator of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, in Paris. For the past 20 years his research has mainly focused on the history of modern Italy. The present article has been taken from *La Méditerranée, l'Espace et l'Histoire*, (Flammarion publishers, Paris, 1985), which was first published, in an illustrated edition, by Arts et Métiers Graphiques, Paris, in 1977.

Profile of an inland sea



THE Mediterranean is sometimes described as a scale model of the world ocean which facilitates the study of important ocean phenomena. This is partly true, as in the case of the analysis of inter-oceanic exchanges or the formation of cold waters, but on the whole, because of differences of scale, attempts at extrapolation to other oceans have not been successful. Because of its size and situation, the Mediterranean has a physiognomy and dynamic of its own which do not occur elsewhere, even in seas of comparable size.

It is too frequently asserted that the Mediterranean is a dying—if not dead—sea. I do not agree. True, there is justified concern for its future on account of the risks from pollution, but I do not think that the solution is to cry wolf. The most responsible

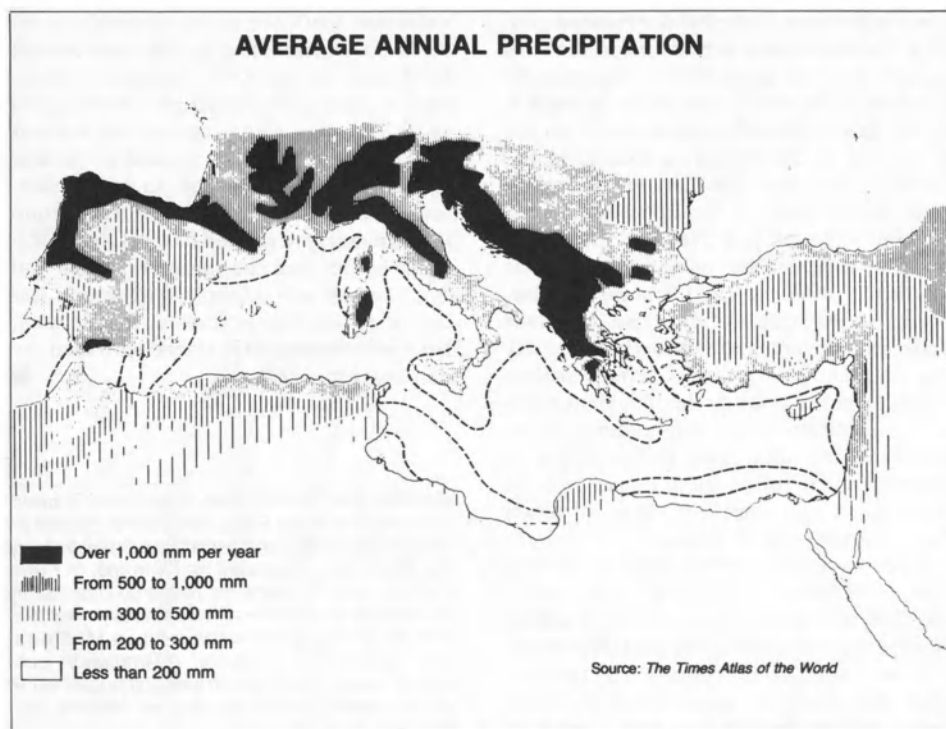
and realistic solution to this real threat is to develop new lines of research.

The Mediterranean ecosystem could be described as a “machine” that generates its own organization. In the Mediterranean, as in any marine environment, all living creatures, from micro-organisms to the biggest fish and cetaceans, form part of an extraordinarily complex chain. The system is based on the producers, which use solar energy to achieve a synthesis of living matter from the mineral world. These producers consist chiefly of micro-algae known as phytoplankton. Starting with them, a food chain is formed in which each link nourishes the next. Phytoplankton, the “grassland” of the sea, are consumed by small animals—the herbivorous zooplankton—which are in turn consumed by carnivorous zooplankton

which provide food for various species both on the surface and lower down. Finally, much of the animal waste is later restored to the system by bacteria which transform it into mineral elements, thus completing the cycle of matter.

In the Mediterranean the functioning of this “machine” or ecosystem depends closely on the unique geophysical conditions prevailing there. The extraordinarily heterogeneous and complex configuration of the basins which constitute the Mediterranean indicates that the sea has had a highly eventful history, our understanding of which has been greatly increased by a number of geological and geophysical expeditions in the last decade. One major event in this history was undoubtedly the “Messinian crisis” which occurred between five and six million years ago, when the Mediterranean was transformed into a huge “dead sea”, and all the water entering it from the neighbouring oceans evaporated, creating enormous deposits of salt which are now buried under sediment. Such was the scale of this crisis that it helped to modify the salinity of the world ocean, providing a good illustration of the interdependence of the hydrosphere.

This tendency to evaporation persists to-



Between rainy Europe and the deserts of Africa and Asia, the Mediterranean world is unified first by the sea itself, and then by its climate, typified by wide contrasts in rainfall and the concentration of rainfall in winter.

by Ramón Margallef

Estimated at 5,700 million tonnes in 1982, the petroleum reserves of the Mediterranean basin amount to more than 6% of the world total. Refineries are numerous, and Italy, for example, has a capacity of 200 million tonnes. There is a substantial tanker fleet, with Greece alone accounting for some 44 per cent of total capacity. Although less serious than pollution

originating on land, pollution linked to the exploitation and transport of hydrocarbons remains considerable. The amount of oil discharged into the Mediterranean each year ranges from 500,000 to one million tonnes, only some 10 per cent of which is due to accidents at sea. Below, a tanker sails past St. Mark's Square, Venice.

Photo © Mosira: Venezia una proposta



day and is one of the essential features of the Mediterranean's hydrological régime. The Mediterranean (including the Black Sea) has a surface area of 2.96 million km² for a volume of 4.24 million km³. Its average depth is 1,429 metres, with the maximum of 5,000 metres occurring in the Ionian basin, which lies to the south of Italy and Greece. One feature of the profile of the Mediterranean is the shallow depth of the ridges separating the chief basins—40 metres in the Bosphorus, 400 between Sicily and Tunisia, 320 in the Straits of Gibraltar, the sole link between the Mediterranean and the ocean.

The hydrology of this sea which is almost entirely enclosed has been the subject of considerable research. At first sight the balance is negative, since evaporation greatly exceeds precipitation and inflows from rivers. According to current estimates, evaporation causes an annual loss of 1,000 mm or nearly 2,900 km³ of water. Average annual precipitation amounts to 310 mm, which is low compared to the estimated world average of 970 mm. Even if we take into account precipitation throughout the catchment area, which amounts to 550 mm per year—only a third of which reaches the sea—total precipitation does not exceed 500 mm per year. Thus there is a massive shortfall, and it is not necessary to be a great mathematician to see that without a compensatory phenomenon of some kind the Mediterranean would dry up completely within 2,000 years, as indeed happened during the Messinian crisis.

A compensatory mechanism is, therefore, essential. It is provided by the Atlantic Ocean but is not limited to a mere inflow of water. Broadly speaking, it can be said that the Mediterranean converts water coming in from the Atlantic into typically Mediterranean water, some of which returns to the Atlantic in the lower layers of the Straits of Gibraltar. On the other hand, the water which enters the Mediterranean is surface water. It is less salty than Mediterranean water (about 36 g of salt per thousand)

and its volume is from twenty to forty times greater than that of the evaporated water.

During the summer months this surface water is subject to a high rate of evaporation and consequently its salinity increases, but, as a result of its high temperature, not its density. During the winter, as it cools, its density increases and it descends to a lower level where it acquires the typical characteristics of Mediterranean water (T=13°C, 38g of salt per 1,000). This water, which subsequently emerges in the lower layers of the Straits of Gibraltar, spreads out in a sheet into the Atlantic, as far as the Azores and the Bay of Biscay. Consequently, when the volume evaporated has been replaced, the deep outflow is almost equal to the inflow, thus ensuring a slow but steady renewal of the water of the Mediterranean (according

to specialists it takes 180 years for the total volume of water in the Mediterranean to be renewed). Above all, this reciprocal exchange with the Atlantic Ocean helps to maintain salinity and prevents the Mediterranean from being transformed once more into a dead sea. It also creates major turbulence phenomena in the Alborán basin between Spain and Morocco.

While the water dynamics described above play an essential role in ecosystems, other, sometimes more important mechanisms intervene in the control of biological cycles. Phosphorus, for example, which is present in water in the form of phosphates, is used in the synthesis of living matter by phytoplankton, thus acting as a limiting factor in biological productivity. Calculation of the phosphorus balance in the ►

However long fortune may smile in a foreign country, the lotus eater never forgets his happy land, the verdant wilderness in the Inland Sea, the home of a hundred thousand souls, fallen like olives in the heat of the sun, a hundred thousand souls and bodies of light and fire, men and women fed on fruit and grilled fish, quietly active, dreaming and ready to seek distraction, sober and voluptuous, hospitable in their mystery, jealous of the patch of sand snatched from the ancient Flood as from the fever of the New World, as the founders wished.

Kateb Yacine
(born 1929)



Photo © Aréphot/Nimatah, Paris

► Mediterranean reveals that elements are recycled. By measuring the inputs—provided by water from the Atlantic, rains and rivers—and the outflows to the Atlantic, losses in depth, withdrawals through fishing, etc., the amount of phosphorus theoretically available has been estimated at about 500,000-600,000 tons per year. Primary production, as far as it can be estimated at present, needs four times the amount theoretically available. Thus the speed of the biological cycle is higher than that of the hydrological cycle. This confirms that the same atom of phosphorus is used on an average several times a year in the biological cycle.

This brief study of phosphorus also reveals that the mechanisms responsible for the recycling of nutrients form a safety device which is continuously washing and clearing the sea of accumulated waste. In a sense the Mediterranean is withstanding pollution better than other enclosed seas such as the Baltic. However, this does not mean that the mechanisms involved are capable of coping with excess of all kinds. No natural process can deal with an overload that keeps growing indefinitely.

However, the mechanisms which restore surface fertility are of limited efficacy. Compared to other seas, the Mediterranean is not very productive. Experts call it an oligotrophic sea. By analogy with certain terrestrial ecosystems it could be said that the Mediterranean corresponds to certain semi-desert arid zones.

The relative poverty of the Mediterranean is reflected in the high transparency of its waters, as a result of which it has been described as a sea for tourists rather than for fishermen.

In fact there are two main ecological seasons in the Mediterranean. A six-month period from May to October is marked by a significant rise in the temperature of the surface waters, which may reach 25° or even 27°C. During this period these waters are very sharply stratified, being separated from the underlying cold layers by a very pronounced thermal discontinuity known as "thermocline". Save in rare circumstances (local inshore mixtures or nutrient salts brought down by rivers) fertilization is out of the question. The transfer of nutrients takes place downwards, by sedimentation.

The second season, between November and April, is described as "productive". As the surface water cools, it sinks and is replaced by water from lower down. The homogenization of temperatures (in the region of 13°C) all through the vertical profile facilitates the mixing of the waters and promotes a return of nutrients to the surface and the development of phytoplankton.

A fisherman carrying strings of fish is depicted in this mural dating from the first half of the second millennium of the pre-Christian era. It was discovered at Thera (the island of Santorin in the Aegean Sea) and is preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Currently available data (which are admittedly far from complete) indicate that the annual production of zooplankton in the Mediterranean amounts to about 8 g of carbon per square metre. This is more than enough to feed the higher links of the trophic chain, especially pelagic fish and cetaceans. But information is still scarce. Mediterranean fisheries take about 40 mg of carbon per square metre per year, sometimes ten times more in certain zones of the western basin. This is of course an excellent yield in the light of what is known about primary and secondary production levels.

Finally, I should point out that, according to a general law of ecology, oligotrophic ecosystems, while remaining at a relatively low level of productivity, display far smaller fluctuations over time than those observed in more productive ecosystems. These features are, I believe, the chief characteristics of the pelagic ecosystem of the Mediterranean. ■

RAMON MARGALLEF, of Spain, has been professor of ecology at the University of Barcelona since 1967. He is a specialist in the ecology of the primary producers of marine and freshwater plankton and in theoretical questions related to the complexity of ecosystems and their development. The present article has been extracted from a more detailed study of Mediterranean plankton which has appeared in the French scientific periodical *La Recherche* (September 1984).

FISHING IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

Tonnes of fish taken

	1968	1980
Spain	83,197	146,606
France	39,857	46,800
Italy	296,952	352,631
Monaco	—	—
Malta	1,300	1,023
Yugoslavia	30,061	34,968
Albania	4,000	—
Greece	55,815	75,745
Turkey	33,287	41,405
Cyprus	1,354	1,304
Syrian Arab Rep.	800	976
Lebanon	2,500	2,400
Israel	6,864	3,702
Egypt	13,560	19,939
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	5,000	4,803
Tunisia	14,537	60,154
Algeria	18,200	38,878
Morocco	10,578	27,316
TOTAL	617,692	858,650

Source : FAO, Rome

In 1980, the official fish catch in the Mediterranean was 858,650 tonnes, or 1 per cent of the world total. The quality of the species taken is such that the percentage in terms of commercial value is far higher. The Mediterranean is rich in fish species, which number from 450 to 500 (as opposed to 170 in the Baltic), some 120 of which are fished. In tonnage more than half the catch usually consists of Clupeidae (anchovies, sardines, etc.), followed by mackerel. Shellfish and molluscs constitute just under 15 per cent (by weight) of the total catch.

Perspectives sur le Bassin Méditerranéen (Développement et Environnement)-Plan Bleu pour la Méditerranée, 1985

An Action Plan for the Mediterranean

It is with regard to the Mediterranean Sea itself and its protection that the common interest of the countries bordering on it is greatest and the need for their cooperation most striking. At a meeting held in Barcelona in 1975 under the auspices of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), these countries adopted a Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution, with four technical protocols concerning the prevention of pollution by dumping from ships and aircraft, the fight against pollution by hydrocarbons and other harmful substances, protection against pollution originating on land, and specially protected areas.

An Action Plan for the Mediterranean was also approved. It is financed jointly by the signatory States and by the European Economic Community. In addition to legal activities relating to the implementation of the Convention and its protocols, the Action Plan includes scientific research and monitoring programmes relating to marine pollution as well as economic and social planning com-

ponents. The latter consist, firstly, of a programme of specific activities in what are deemed to be priority areas (soil protection, water resource management, human settlements, tourism, aquaculture and renewable energy sources) and secondly, an exercise in reflection and forecasting—the Blue Plan—whose aim is to offer guidance for governments according to different potential development scenarios.

Thus, for nearly ten years now, 17 of the 18 countries bordering on the Mediterranean, setting aside the political differences existing between some of them, especially in the eastern Mediterranean, have jointly faced the threat to their common environment. These countries are Spain, France, Italy, Monaco, Malta, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, the Syrian Arab Republic, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Albania sent a delegation for the first time to the meeting of contracting parties held at Genoa in September 1985. ■

A cultural crossroads

by Giovanni Dotoli



The Mediterranean can be seen at right of this map of the world produced in 1154 by the Hispano-Arab geographer al-Idrisi (c.1100-c.1166). In accordance with a convention of Islamic cartography at that time, the south is shown at top of map.

THERE was already a flourishing civilization in the Mediterranean area 3,000 years before the Christian era. Each of the regions of the Mediterranean in turn has been a source of influence, each has made an outstanding contribution to the development of mankind. The sole point of reference has always been the material and spiritual progress of mankind. From one era to the next, these successive polarizations created a ferment of intellectual activity and a body of convergences that make the Mediterranean tradition a unique example of cultural identity.

The Mediterranean is a crossroads of history uniting three continents—Africa, Europe and Asia, that is to say the entire known world at the Renaissance—in a process of reciprocal exchanges, a circular

movement which enabled each of the many centres which emerged to absorb something of the other.

The unity to which the Mediterranean tends is inscribed in its long history and has been sought many times in different parts of the region. All the peoples and cultures which today coexist in the Mediterranean basin call for recognition and respect. In a sense the Mediterranean peoples are at once Arab, Greek, Hebrew and Latin. And the history of the world would be quite different without the contributions of these peoples to science, medicine, literature, law, religion and politics. It is therefore justifiable to speak of a Mediterranean humanism centred on the person, the basis of every assertion of human rights.

Today the Mediterranean is seriously

threatened as a beacon of civilization whose special feature is unity in diversity. Urgent action is required if the Mediterranean basin is to be saved from grave cultural, economic and political damage.

Unless they commit themselves to active collaboration, the Mediterranean countries will be condemned by the kind of economic relations that prevail in the world today to be mere market outlets for the costly, unsuitable products of an alien technology.

But if they overcome their prejudices and realize that no one can succeed alone, the Mediterranean countries, with their extraordinary economic situation, will be able to surmount their handicaps rapidly and benefit from an interdependence recognized as indispensable.

In the conviction that cooperation is the

best way to halt this decline a Conference on Scientific Cooperation between Mediterranean Universities was held at Bari (Italy) on 19 and 20 May 1982. The aim of the conference was to initiate an integration process for Mediterranean peoples by analysing the possibilities for cultural and scientific collaboration. The following proposals were adopted:

- to establish training programmes in conformity with the special cultural features of the countries in the region and their specific needs;
- to set up research groups concerned with the protection and development of the man-made and natural environments;
- to establish a data bank for education and research;
- to create an information centre on the activities of each university;
- to initiate training programmes in the fields of energy, biotechnology, agro-food production and hydrology;
- to prepare a map of existing imbalances in the fields of health and the environment;
- to set up intervention centres for the protection of the cultural, artistic and natural heritage and the defence of minorities;
- to draw up an inventory of the common heritage of popular traditions;
- to establish a linguistics centre;
- to expand collaboration in music, the visual arts, literature, archaeology and town planning;
- to create university chairs related to Mediterranean studies;
- to provide information about the norms governing the activities of the various research institutions.

On these foundations the Community of



Photo © Brigitte Lefranc, Paris

Head of a statue commemorating Ibn Rushd (Averroës) in his native city of Cordoba. This 12th-century Hispano-Arab philosopher is one of the most illustrious intellectual symbols of co-operation and understanding among the countries of the Mediterranean. Born in Andalusia, he achieved a synthesis of classical Greek philosophy (especially Aristotelian theories) and Islam in a body of work which profoundly influenced the thought of the Christian West.

Mediterranean Universities, whose members include some hundred universities and research centres, was created in 1984. Its objectives are to reassert the role of culture and scientific and technological research in solving the difficult problems surrounding the development of Mediterranean countries, and to promote scientific cooperation between universities by using the competence and resources of each of them while respecting the specificity of the different nations to which they belong.

The Community is not an isolated initiative. It forms part of a network of specialized centres created by Unesco in different countries in the region under the authority of a general coordinating bureau.

In this way some of the conditions are being met for the sustained and orderly growth of Mediterranean countries, whose unity and diversity are a source of strength and fortune. ■

GIOVANNI DOTOLI, of Italy, is professor of French language and literature at the University of Bari, and general co-ordinator of the Community of Mediterranean Universities, of which he is a co-founder. He has launched and directed literary magazines and book series, including a number of international co-publications. He has taken part in many international seminars and was rapporteur of a meeting on Mediterranean writing organized by Unesco at Hammamet (Tunisia). He is the author of 16 books and many essays on French and Italian literature, and aspects of European and Mediterranean cultures.

Education: two Unesco programmes

A team of young Greek film-makers wishing to develop educational television and interested in what is going on in this field in other countries has decided to participate in an exchange project for educational films entitled AVINTER. Turkey has introduced an innovative programme of cooperation between industry and secondary education. How is it organized and what are its results? A comparative study carried out by the Hungarian National Institute of Education is evaluating experiments of this kind in Mediterranean countries. What are the consequences of introducing new technologies for the training and further training of teachers? The University of Bucharest recently organized a meeting of specialists and is preparing a comparative study on this question. The Bulgarian Institute for Research in General Education is coordinating a project on the use of educational games in schools. The Serbian Institute for the Promotion of Education, in Yugoslavia, has launched a pilot project concerning the introduction of methods of self-instruction in primary schools. The results are promising and were recently analysed at a meeting of specialists held in Yugoslavia.

These are some of the activities included in the programme of Co-operation in Research and Development of Educational Innovation in Southeast Europe (CODIESEE) in which, under Unesco auspices, Bulgaria, Greece,

Hungary, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia are taking part. The programme, which has just been extended to Spain, Italy, Malta and Portugal, enables participating institutions to exchange information and carry out joint research through seminars, meetings of specialists, joint research projects and study visits.

The research themes of the CODIESEE programme are selected by a coordination group which meets every two years at Unesco's invitation. One of the participant institutions is responsible for the scientific and administrative coordination and direction of the selected projects. The role of Unesco, which provides technical backing and a measure of financial support, is essentially that of a catalyst. The success of the programme is largely due to the willingness of the participating bodies to cooperate in the search for solutions to their common problems.

One of the biggest Unesco field operations in education is the joint programme carried out in cooperation with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Cooperation between Unesco and UNRWA began in 1950 and is the subject of an agreement between the two organizations. Its purpose is to develop primary and preparatory education for Palestine Arab refugee children, to contribute to the training of teachers, and to provide

vocational and technical training facilities and, to a limited extent, secondary and university education for Palestine Arab refugees.

UNRWA is responsible for administering the educational programmes for Palestine Arab refugees, while Unesco assumes technical responsibility. Unesco's action consists mainly in the initial and further training of teachers, the improvement of school buildings, laboratories and scientific libraries and the publication of school textbooks and teaching materials.

A few figures will give an idea of the scale of the Unesco-UNRWA programme. In 1983-1984, 241,237 young Palestine Arab refugees were enrolled in UNRWA-Unesco primary schools in Jordan, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic, the teaching staff numbered 5,985. The corresponding figures for UNRWA-Unesco preparatory schools were 101,800 pupils and 3,274 teachers. The number of university grants awarded under the UNRWA-Unesco programme ranged from 143 in 1950-1951 to 1,088 in 1967-1970, levelling out at approximately 350 fellowships per year from 1973-1974 to 1983-1984. ■



The birthplace of submarine archaeology

by Selim Morcos

THE waters of the Mediterranean are the world's richest in terms of the ancient artifacts and structures that lie beneath them.

In ancient times, the Mediterranean played a major role in communication between its people, many of them seafarers, throughout a succession of civilizations, distinct from but influenced by each other. Ships bearing cargoes and passengers plied the sea lanes from port to port. In the early days of navigation, casualties were very high. As a result, the shallow inshore waters are dotted with

shipwrecks. Moreover, in many places the shoreline has been subjected to natural processes such as subsidence and coastal erosion which have led to the submergence of many of the ancient harbours, and to the disappearance of fine examples of old maritime structures and buildings.

The presence of these extraordinary riches combined with other factors to make the Mediterranean the natural birthplace of underwater archaeology, a new field of investigation that was gradually opened up by the development of

diving techniques during the Second World War, assisted by modern technology in submarine surveying, photography and submersibles.

Underwater investigation is favoured in the Mediterranean by the fact that the water temperature makes diving agreeable during most of the year, while the transparency of the water and the clear sunny weather enhance the penetration of sunlight and increase visibility in relatively shallow depths.

Many of the early finds were made by sponge divers or fishermen. In fact,

Left, submarine archaeologists photograph and map the wreck of a Bronze Age ship that sank off the southern coast of Turkey in the 14th century BC or earlier. The shipwreck is the oldest ever excavated.

sponges are widespread in the warm waters of the eastern Mediterranean, at depths of less than sixty metres, and sponge diving is one of the oldest professions in the Aegean.

It was a fisherman who made one of the first discoveries, in 1832, when he found in his nets a beautiful bronze statue of Apollo from 460 BC, while Turkish sponge divers discovered one of the oldest shipwrecks ever investigated (1200 BC). The latter was excavated by Peter Throckmorton and George Bass between 1958 and 1960. Its one-ton cargo of copper and bronze ingots shed new light on Phoenician seafaring in the Bronze Age and on trade and metallurgy in that period.

Greek sponge divers discovered the famous shipwreck at Mahdia, Tunis, in 1907. Five costly expeditions between 1908 and 1913 led to the most brilliant early success in submarine archaeology, resulting in the recovery of a cargo of works of the finest Greek art. The treasures of Mahdia now occupy five rooms in Alaoui Museum, Le Bardo, Tunis. Of particular interest is a magnificent 1.25-metre-high bronze statue of a young man personifying Eros, the god of love, by the sculptor Boethios the Chalcedonian.

Excavations at Mahdia continued until after the Second World War, providing a vivid demonstration of, and testing ground for, diving techniques. It was at Mahdia in 1948 that the newly invented aqualung was applied for the first time in submarine archaeology, by a French team led by Jacques-Yves Cousteau and Philippe Taillez who carried out scientific investigations and raised more cargo to the surface using a water jet to remove mud. Later, members of the Tunisian Club of Undersea Studies, using an airlift, a kind of powerful underwater vacuum cleaner they had designed for themselves, removed mud and uncovered the twenty-five-metre keel which suggested the ship was about thirty metres long. Other wooden parts offered valuable information on Roman ship construction, and as a result a plan was made of the ship.

When studying wrecks, archaeologists seek to analyse the cargo and investigate the construction of the hull, since this contributes to our understanding of trade, economy, ship-building and maritime history. Two characteristics of ancient wrecks are rarely encountered in land archaeology: the collection in one place of many objects that were in use at a specific time and the fact that they suffered no alterations by human interference since the time of the wreck. Each wreck is "a miniature Pompeii that vanished tragically at a precise point in

time," pioneer submarine archaeologist Honor Frost has said.

Submarine archaeology is, in fact, not a search for souvenirs, but a scholarly pursuit or search for knowledge. Many of the wrecks discovered in the Mediterranean were carrying cargoes of amphorae, the classical containers used for transporting fresh water, wine, olive oil, grain and other commodities. The tonnage of the ship can be estimated from the total number of amphorae. The shape of and inscriptions on amphorae provide clues as to the date and place of manufacture. Their position in the cargo, at the bottom or on deck, may also cast light on the route of the ship.

One interesting example of trade emerged from an eleventh-century wreck at Serçe Limani in Turkey, which was excavated by George Bass between 1977 and 1979. The cargo included three tons of broken Islamic glass representing the remains of 10,000 glass vessels. Bass wonders if this ship was Islamic because of the contradictory evidence revealed by the cargo. A secondary cargo of wine was carried in amphorae marked with Byzantine Christian inscriptions. Islamic gold coins were intermingled with Byzantine copper coins. Official Islamic glass weights were found side by side with official Byzantine lead seals.

Until the advent of submarine archaeology, few examples of ancient ships were known. They included a Roman ship (220-160 BC) found behind the Stock Exchange in Marseilles and the "solar boat" (2600 BC) discovered in 1954 in a pit near the Khufu (Cheops) Pyramid, south of Cairo. Then awareness

that a large number of ancient wrecks lay on the sea-bed suddenly heightened the interest of specialists and the public in wooden ship architecture, which had faded when sailing ships were replaced by steam ships. Many revealing lessons have been learned from sunken hulls. From thorough study of the hull of a ship at Yassi Ada in Turkey, dating from the time of the emperor Heraclius (610-641 AD), George Bass was able to conclude that the hull was built partly by the modern "skeleton first" method, and partly by the Greco-Roman "shell-first" method. From this he deduced that the modern method of constructing carvel-built hulls evolved from the older Greco-Roman method at some point during the late Roman period.

Five varieties of timber were used in the construction of the Roman ship found behind the Marseilles Stock Exchange. The keel was of cypress and all the ribbing of pine. Certain varieties of wood were used for the longitudinal elements, and others for the transversal elements, thus confirming the texts of ancient writers on the qualities, uses and sources of different varieties of wood.

Another field in which submarine archaeology is active is the discovery and exploration of lost harbours and submerged cities. In 1910 Gaston Jondet discovered, west of Alexandria, completely submerged at a depth of about 8.5 metres, the piers of an entire seaport of a colossal scale which dwarfs many present-day harbours. The find aroused considerable interest because of the massive size of the submerged masonry and the skilful method of its construction. This was the

A huge statue of the Egyptian goddess Isis (7 metres long and weighing 25 tons) was discovered on the sea bed in the harbour of Alexandria in 1961 and salvaged the following year. It is thought to have adorned one of the Seven Wonders of the World, the ancient lighthouse of Alexandria which was built in the 3rd century BC. The statue can be seen today in the gardens of the catacombs of Kom-el-Chogafa in Alexandria (below).

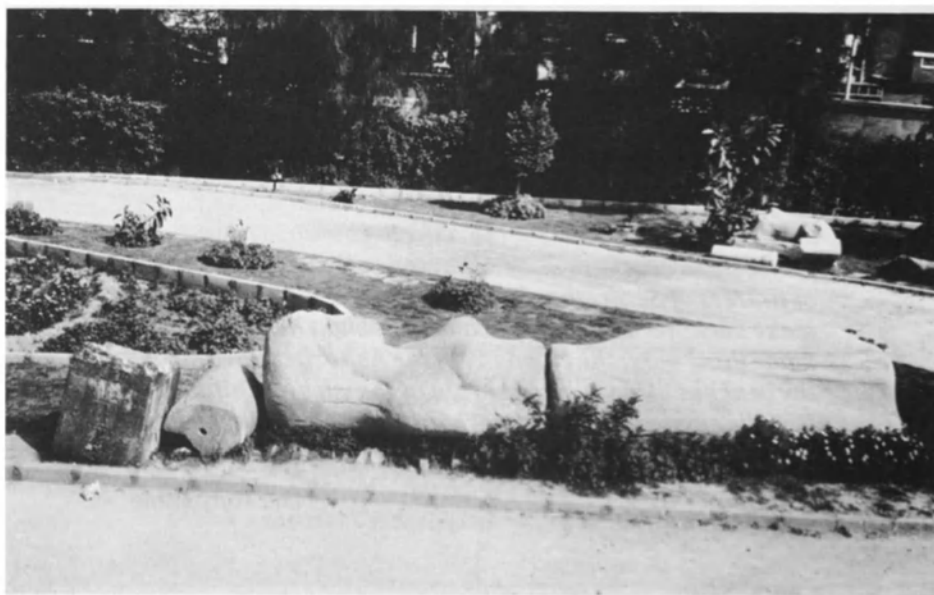


Photo © Selim Morcos, Paris



The remains of a Roman ship were discovered near the Marseilles Stock Exchange in 1974. Photo shows workmen preparing for the delicate operation of transporting the wreck to the city's History Museum.

► first detailed survey of an ancient harbour.

From 1931 to 1934, Père Antoine Poidebard made an elaborate survey of the Phoenician harbour of Tyre. Later, Honor Frost and others studied several old ports in the east Mediterranean such as Arwad, Tyre, Sidon, Caesarea and Athlit. In 1958-59, the British oceanographer and marine archaeologist Nicholas Flemming led a Cambridge University expedition to the sunken Greek port of Apollonia (Susah) on the Cyrenaican coast of Libya. Built on a Phoenician plan, the port was a two-harbour city. The outer harbour received trading ships

while the inner harbour was fortified to protect the city. The two harbours were connected by a narrow channel flanked with long walls to defend the inner harbour against invaders.

The Romans made great progress in harbour construction. Robert Günther, an Oxford don, surveyed the elaborate Roman ports of the Bay of Naples between 1901 and 1903. Later, the French diver Philippe Diolé visited many Roman ports in North Africa, and devoted particular study to Caesarea, the most important military harbour between Carthage and Gibraltar, which is now known as Cherchel in Algeria.

Lighthouses were often constructed as aids to navigation. When Alexander the Great reached Alexandria, he constructed the Eastern Harbour by linking the island of Pharos to the mainland with a narrow causeway, the Heptastadium. The entrance to the Eastern Harbour was so narrow that the lighthouse of Alexandria was constructed under Ptolemy II in the third century BC. One of the seven wonders of the world, the lighthouse was a three-story structure probably rising to a height of 120 metres. It survived until the fourteenth century, when it was destroyed by earthquakes. The coastal region of Alexandria has also undergone subsidence, and many buildings around the old Eastern Harbour have been lost to the sea. In 1961, an Alexandrian amateur diver, Kamel Abu Al-Saadat, discovered a massive statue of the goddess Isis, weighing about twenty-five tons. It was brought to the surface in 1963. In 1968, Honor Frost undertook a Unesco mission to Alexandria on the invitation of the Egyptian Government. After several dives on the site of Pharos, she identified, with the help of Kamel Abu Al-Saadat, seventeen different objects. She believes that the large statue of Isis and the other items are almost certainly remains of the famous Pharos.

But underwater archaeology in the Mediterranean today is not only concerned with such comparatively "recent" monuments as the lighthouse of Alexandria. One of the most important new developments is the study of very early human settlements on the continental shelf.

During the Ice Ages, huge ice sheets covered Antarctica and large areas of the northern hemisphere. Because a large amount of seawater was frozen in the ice caps, the sea level dropped by as much as 100 metres, thus exposing a wide area of the continental shelf. This area, sloping gradually beyond the present shoreline of continents and islands, became available as a living space for early man, and as land bridges between continents and islands.

The discovery of fossil bones and other evidence by anthropologist Richard Leakey and his colleagues has led to the belief that manlike creatures (East African man) existed in Africa around 1.5 million years ago. These early men moved gradually into Asia and Europe over the land bridges created during the Ice Age, and particularly through the Isthmus of Suez, the southern end of the Red Sea, between Tunisia, Sicily and Italy, and between Morocco and Spain. Until now there has been no direct evidence from below the sea of human use of these land bridges (today sea straits), in spite of research carried out on caves below sea level in Gibraltar and Malta. However, in the last ten years, research by Nicholas Flemming and other expeditions in the eastern Mediterranean, have found for the first time convincing evidence, mainly Stone Age relics, on the continental shelf which was inhabited and exploited by Stone Age people to a depth of ten metres

O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy ship boards of fir trees of Senir: they have taken cedars of Lebanon to make masts for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim. Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail.

The Holy Bible

below the present sea level, from at least 40,000 BC until the beginning of the Bronze Age in the Middle East, about 6,000 years ago.

Today underwater archaeology is an increasingly popular pursuit. But its very popularity and success have brought problems. The development of the aqualung has given the professional archaeologist a powerful tool; on the other hand, it has also provided access to amateur divers, many of whom admittedly are aware of the importance of the great heritage lying beneath the sea. However, some of these divers are also fond of beautiful, rare objects and souvenirs. Worse still, the existence of a market for algae-encrusted antiques from beneath the sea has attracted looters and racketeers.

Even if objects of archaeological value are presented to local museums, some of their scientific value is lost, because they are removed from their context. Old stone or metal anchors, for example, could give valuable information on maritime routes if their distribution is properly plotted. Souvenir hunters can disrupt these studies.

The expansion and improvement of harbours and old cities such as Alexandria, Athens and Naples have also resulted in severe losses. This man-made destruction is intolerable and calls for urgent remedy and an acceleration of survey work, recording and study.

One big dilemma facing archaeologists is what to do with the material they salvage, especially if they are dealing with a bulky shipwreck or hundreds of amphorae. Conventional museums tend to relegate such material to their store-rooms or backyards. A more innovative but costly approach is to establish special museums such as the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology in Turkey, which was created in the late 1950s and now displays the finds of five scientifically excavated ancient shipwrecks. ■

SELIM MORCOS, Egyptian oceanographer, is a senior programme specialist in Unesco's Division of Marine Sciences. Before joining Unesco in 1973, he taught at the University of Alexandria where he carried out research on the exchange of sea water between the Mediterranean and Red Seas. He is interested in the history of oceanography and in underwater archaeology, on which he has written the only book in Arabic, *"Sunken Civilizations, the Story of Submarine Archaeological Discoveries"*.

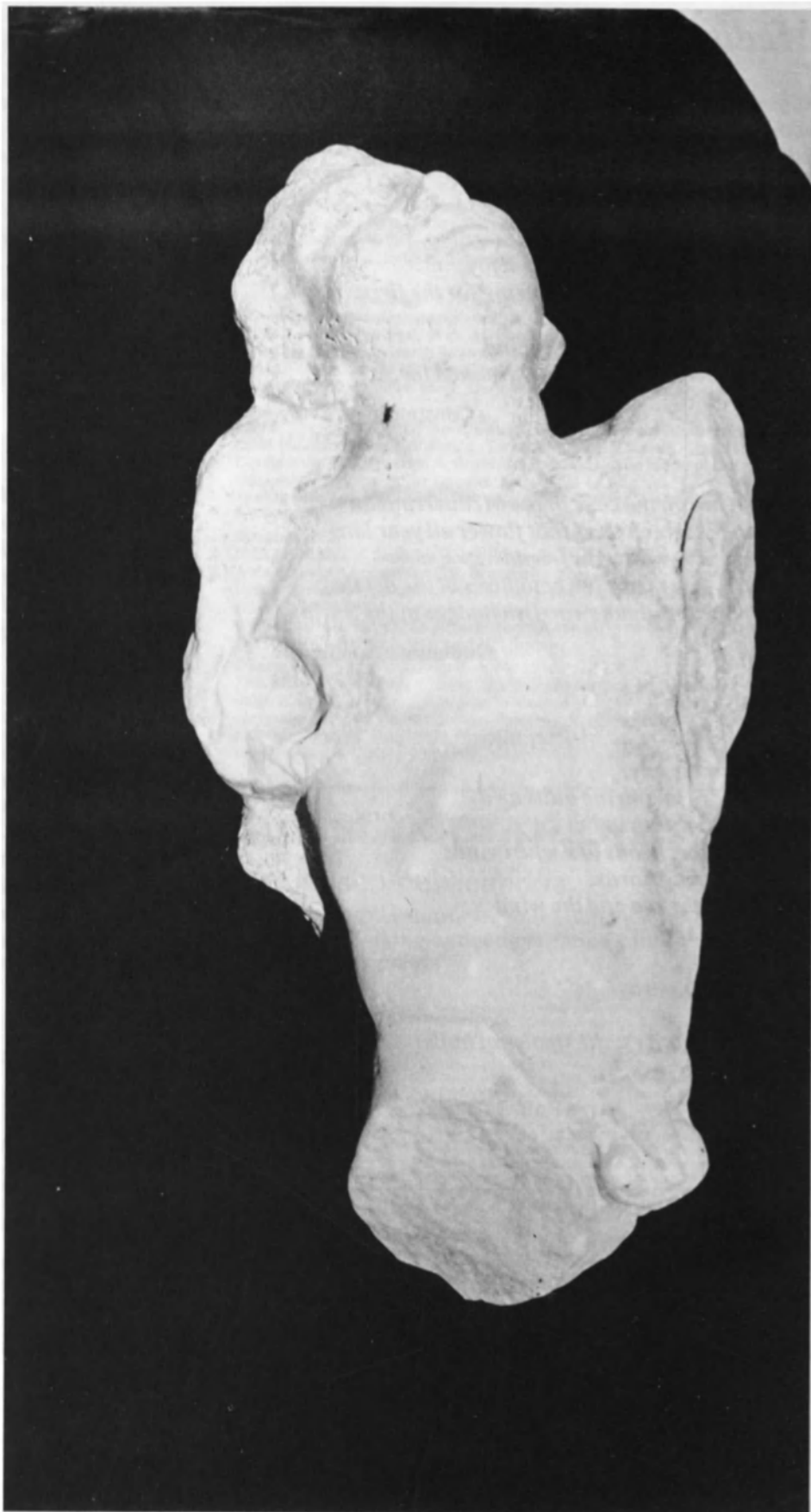


Photo © Kleinberg Photographic

The ancient seaport of Apollonia on the Libyan coast today lies half underwater, either because of land subsidence or a rise in sea level. While surveying a submerged Roman Piscina or fish preservation tank at Apollonia, divers found this well-preserved marble torso and head of a faun, now in the Archaeological Museum at Cyrene, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Mediterranean voices

*As you set out for Ithaka
hope the journey may be long,
full of adventure, full of discovery...*

*Hope the journey may be long.
May there be many a summer morning
when with what pleasure, what joy,
you enter harbours you're seeing for the first time....*

*Keep Ithaka always in your mind.
Arriving there is what you're destined for.....*

Constantine Cavafy
(1863-1933)

*Now you are on the edge of the Mediterranean
Beneath the lemon trees that flower all year long
You go sailing with your friends...
We watch with terror the octopuses of the depths
And among the algae swim fish images of the Saviour*

Guillaume Apollinaire
(1880-1918)

*The cries of Heracles the Mighty
resound in the bay.
Hey, they're taking the bulls away,
the proud fighting bulls!
With their foreheads like whirlwinds
and splintering horns.
Roaring of the sea and the wind
of the saltmarshes.*

*Opening a new way
to the shores,
Hercules advances, the stealer of bulls
of the saltmarshes.*

Rafael Alberti
(born 1902)

Correction

We regret that, on page 18 of our November issue devoted to Victor Hugo, the captions referring to the colour photos appearing on page 22 were inverted. The upper photo on page 22 depicts *Le Rocher Ortach* and the lower photo shows *La Tour des Rats*.

The plain of water rippling falls.

*Still secret the sun
bathes in its urns.*

Waterwave incarnadine.

*With sudden gentle eyes
opening on the bays.*

The submerged shadow of the rocks dies.

Giuseppe Ungaretti
(1888-1970)

*You sleep dense beauty of summer
o blinding immensity
brightness on brightness in the brightness
abyss on abyss in the abyss
all the cries of all the shipwrecked mingle in you
and soothed today in your vain diamantine harmony.*

Dusan Matic
(1898-1982)

*Just as then, today, I am stilled by your presence,
sea, but think myself no longer worthy
of the solemn warning
that you breathe. You were first to tell me
that the tiny ferment
of my heart was simply an impulse
of yours; that in my depth of being
there was your perilous law...*

Eugenio Montale
(1896-1981)

Acknowledgments

Extract from Homer (page 5) is taken from E.V. Rieu's translation of the *Odyssey*, published by Penguin Books Ltd. Extract from Virgil (page 6) is from *The Eclogues, The Georgics*, translated by C. Day Lewis (Oxford University Press, 1983). Extract from the Qur'an (page 26) is taken from the translation by N.J. Dawood, published by Penguin Books Ltd. Extracts from the poems "Ithaka" by Constantine Cavafy (this page), "In the Manner of G.S." by George Seferis (page 6), and "Drinking the Sun of Corinth" by Odysseus Elytis (page 8) translated from the Greek by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard and published in *Voices of Modern Greece*, Princeton University Press, 1981. Extract from the poem "Silence in Liguria" by Giuseppe Ungaretti (this page) translated from the Italian by Michael Fineberg.

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All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief in Paris.

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A city wedded to the sea

For centuries Venice was mistress of the Mediterranean, her supremacy symbolized in the magnificent ceremony wedding her Doge (duke) to the sea. Venetian painters often recorded this alliance between city and sea, chronicling the city's activities and the distant voyages of her ships. Photo shows a detail of *The Departure of the Betrothed*, one of a series of scenes illustrating the legend of St. Ursula executed by the Venetian painter Carpaccio (c.1465-c.1525).